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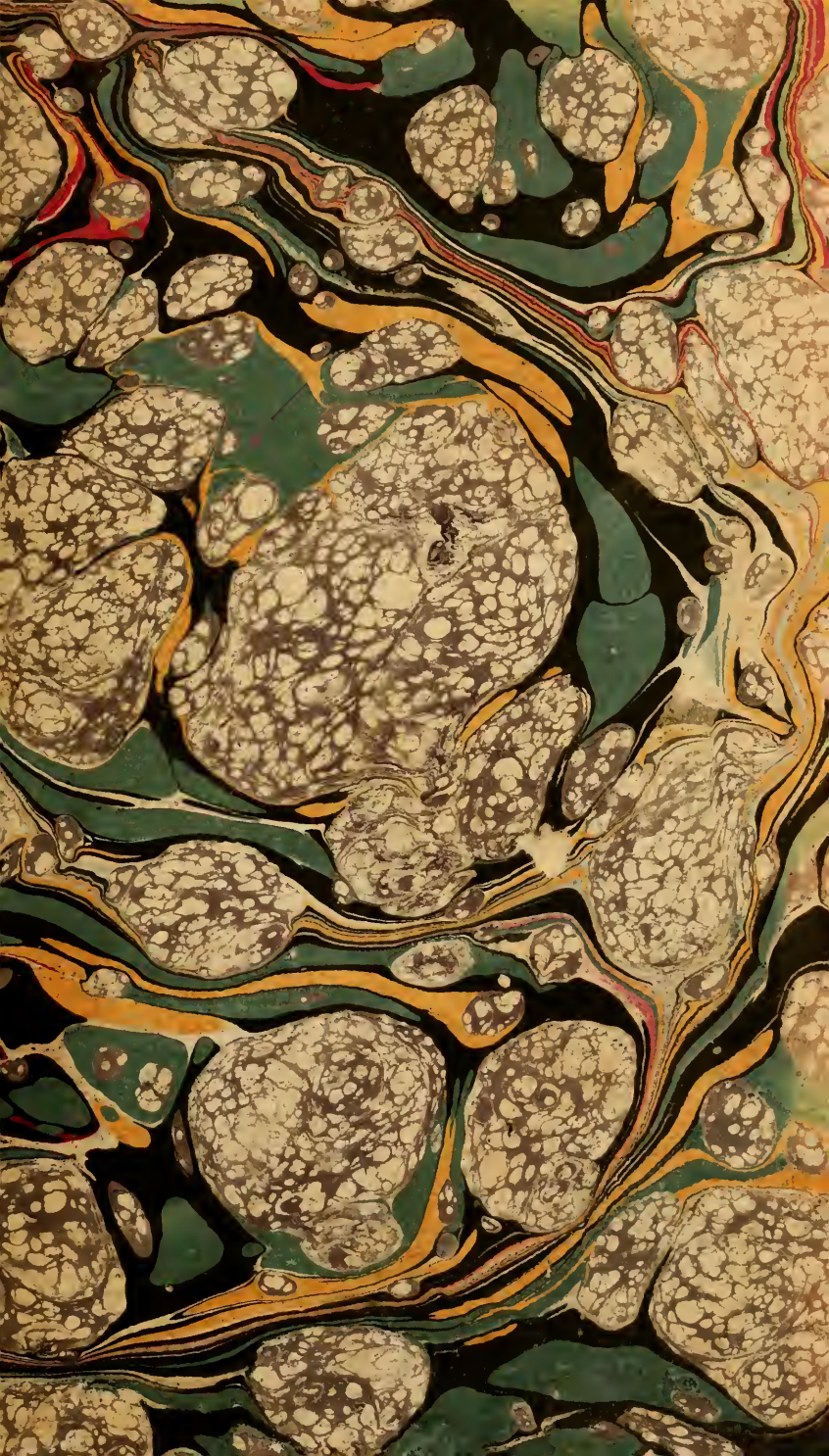
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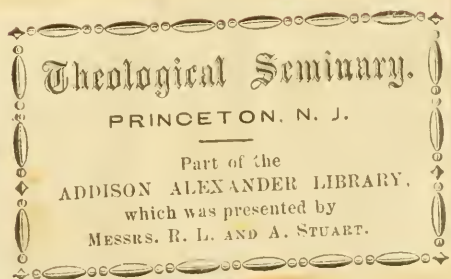
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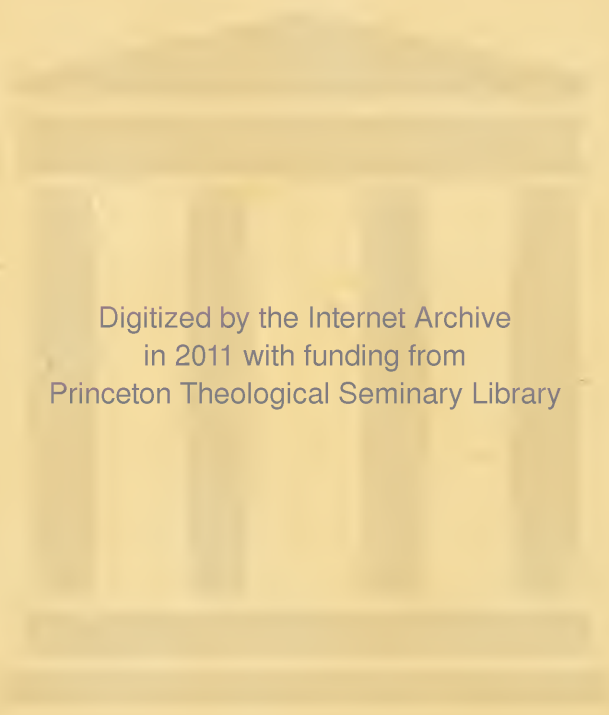
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MEMOIRS
OF THE
REIGN OF GEORGE III.

VOL. V.

S. HAMILTON, PRINTER, FALCON-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

IN TWO VOLUMES.

LONDON,

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MEMOIRS
OF THE
REIGN OF GEORGE III.

TO
THE COMMENCEMENT
OF THE
YEAR 1799.

✓
BY W. BELSHAM.

VOL. V.

BENEFICIO QUAM METU OBLIGARE HOMINES MALIT; EXTERASQUE GENTES FIDE
AC SOCIETATE JUNCTAS HABERE, QUAM TRISTI SUBJECTAS SERVITIO.

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UPON the very same day that France declared war against Great Britain, the British parliament was engaged in discussing a message from the king, stating, “That his majesty had caused to be

be laid before them copies of several papers which had passed between M. Chauvelin and the minister for foreign affairs, and of the order of departure transmitted to M. Chauvelin. And his majesty moreover declared, that in the present situation of affairs he thought it indispensable to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land, for maintaining the rights of his own dominions, for supporting his allies, and for opposing views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France, at all times dangerous to the interests of Europe, but peculiarly so when connected with the propagation of principles subversive of the peace and order of all civil society."

On this occasion Mr. Pitt, who had now resumed his seat in parliament, made an eloquent harangue, evidently calculated to prepare the minds of his auditors for war, and to inflame the passions of the house to the highest pitch. Adverting, at the commencement of his speech, to the melancholy catastrophe which had just taken place in France, he represented it in terms of the most high-flown rhetorical exaggeration, "as an event so full of grief and horror, that he wished it were possible to tear it from their memories, and expunge it from the page of history;—but that event was unfortunately passed, and the present age must be for ever contaminated with

the guilt and ignominy of having witnessed it. In this dreadful transaction they saw concentrated the effect of those principles, pushed to their utmost extent, which set out with dissolving all the bonds by which society was held together—principles established in opposition to every law human and divine, and which, presumptuously relying on the authority of wild and delusive theories, rejected all the advantages of the wisdom and experience of former ages, and even the sacred instructions of Revelation.” After indulging himself long in this sort of declamation, Mr. Pitt adverted to the papers before the house. During the whole summer, (he affirmed) while France had been engaged in the war with Austria and Prussia, his majesty had in no shape departed from the neutrality which he had engaged to observe. But what had been the conduct of the French? The first instance of their success in Savoy had been sufficient to demonstrate the insincerity of their assurances, and to unfold the plan of their ambition. They had immediately resolved to annex it for ever to their dominions. That they might not leave any doubt of their intentions, by a formal decree they had stated their plan of overturning every government; threatening destruction to all who refused that fraternization, which, by a horrid mockery, they pretended to offer. They had rendered

rendered the Netherlands a province, in substance as well as in name, to France ; and they had shewn a disposition to add to its territory every country which should be so unfortunate as to experience the force of its arms ; for the wild and destructive ambition of the present rulers of France was limited only by their power. Some pretended explanations had indeed been given of the decree of the 19th of November ; but, as had been already stated by the noble secretary of state, they contained only an avowal and a repetition of the offence. The whole of their language, institutions, and conduct, had been directed to the subversion of every government. To monarchy particularly they had testified the most violent and decided enmity : the bloody sentence, executed by the hand of the assassin against their late monarch, was passed against the sovereigns of all countries. No political association in this kingdom, however contemptible, had sent addresses containing sentiments of sedition and treason to their assembly which had not been received with even a degree of theatrical extravagance, and cherished with all the enthusiasm of congenial feeling.—In relation to the violated rights of his majesty and his allies, involved in the question relative to the Scheld, he asserted the exclusive claim of the Dutch to the navigation of that river, guarantied by the

most solemn treaties; to which the French, who could have no pretence to interfere in this matter but in the assumed character of sovereigns of the Low Countries, or arbiters of Europe, opposed certain visionary theoretic principles, such as destroyed the force of all positive obligations, though they had repeatedly pledged themselves to the observance of all the subsisting treaties. He granted that the Dutch had made no formal requisition of support in actual circumstances, contenting themselves with protesting against the invasion of their rights; but, because they were timid, were we to leave them exposed to the certain ruin that awaited them?—The French had stated that they would evacuate the Netherlands at the conclusion of the war. Upon a promise so illusory there could not be placed the smallest dependence; and they had made no apology for the manner in which they had received seditious addresses from this country. These addresses they received as expressive of the sentiments of the people of Great Britain, the great majority of whom, he was happy to say, detested the principles contained in them. Thus in all those three assurances which they had given—1st, Of their intention to reject any system of aggrandizement; 2dly, To abstain from their interfering in the government of any neutral country; and 3dly, To respect the rights
of

of his majesty and his allies, they had entirely failed, and on every point completely reversed that line of conduct which they had so solemnly pledged themselves to adopt. In the paper transmitted by the executive council, they had given their *ultimatum*, so that we must either accept the satisfaction they offer, or a war must be the consequence. As to the time, the precise moment, he should not pretend to fix it. A satisfactory explanation would not even now be refused; but he should deceive them if he should say that he thought any such explanation would be given, or that a war could be avoided." He then moved an address of thanks to his majesty in the usual form.

A most animated debate ensued. Mr. Whitbread denied "that the barbarities imputed to France were the necessary consequences of the French revolution, or of republican principles. To the conduct of the powers combined against the liberties of France, to the sanguinary manifestoes of the duke of Brunswic, might they be, without hesitation, ascribed. These manifestoes bore rather the stamp and character of those Gothic and Scythian invaders, with whom to conquer and destroy were the same, than of the enlightened spirit of the eighteenth century. They breathed the fury of an Attila, whose emphatical boast, as recorded by a celebrated histo-

rian, was—‘Where Attila’s horse sets his foot the grass never grows.’ The balance of power was said to be endangered by the aggrandizement of France; but were any apprehensions entertained on this subject when France was overrun by the arms of Prussia and Austria? Were any symptoms of uneasiness apparent when the empress of Russia, in the course of the last summer, took possession of Poland? But the principles of France were said to enhance, if not to constitute, the danger. Surely the principles of despotism, propagated by the sword, were not less dangerous than those of licentiousness. To demand that the French troops should evacuate their conquests, in order to pave the way to negotiation with us, was the height of insolence.—A hard necessity indeed, should he conceive it, for Great Britain to be forced into a war to maintain for the benefit of the Dutch the exclusive navigation of the Scheld; for the exclusive navigation of that river had been established by force, and consented to by weakness. At least we had a right to expect some precise requisition of the Dutch for the assistance stipulated by treaty; but the minister acknowledged that no such demand had been made. On the contrary, in a proclamation issued by the States General so late as the 10th of January last, they expressly declare themselves to be *at peace*, in consequence
of

of the strict neutrality they had observed. The decree of November he would not defend, but the explanation of it was such as to take away all serious apprehensions of injury designed to this country. Having gone through the matter contained in the papers, Mr. Whitbread declared he could find no justification of the conduct of administration. He thought the maintenance of peace in the power of the ministry, in perfect consistency with the honor, dignity, and interests of this country; but their conduct and words denoted war. He had still, however, an hope of peace remaining. That hope was founded on the knowledge he had of the character of his majesty's present servants. He knew that they had the faculty of enlarging or reducing objects precisely to the form in which they wished to consider them. That at one time the fortress of Oczakow had deranged the balance of power in Europe; at another the whole kingdom of Poland had been thrown in without making a vibration in their political beam. He knew that they had never advanced too far to recede; that they had never threatened too much to retreat. The versatility and weakness of their counsels, though it inspired this hope, made it nevertheless, he confessed, a faint and desperate one; and he concluded with saying he could not give his assent to the address."

Mr.

Mr. Fox commenced a very energetic speech by complaining of the gross misrepresentations and misconstructions of what he and those who thought with him had spoken during the course of the present session. They were calumniated as partisans of France, and as the worst enemies of the country. This only served to shew that they were engaged in a service of danger as well as honor; and if he concealed his sentiments, or deserted his station, from any motive of intimidation, he should betray his trust, and degrade his character*.

Mr. Fox allowed that the trial and execution of the French monarch were acts of the grossest inhumanity and injustice. But the invariable maxim of policy was, that crimes perpetrated in one independent state were not cognizable in another. Had we not treated, and even formed alliances, with Portugal and with Spain at the very time those kingdoms were disgraced and polluted by the most barbarous acts of superstition and cruelty—of racks, torture, and fire, un-

* The high popularity of Mr. Pitt at this crisis, and the extreme unpopularity, resentment, and even national rage, displayed against Mr. Fox, (for nations are no less subject to paroxysms of passion than individuals,) recalls to recollection a famous anecdote of antiquity. "The Athenians," said Demosthenes to Phocion, "will in some fit of phrenzy put you to death."—"And you," replied Phocion, "should they recover their senses."

der the abominable tyranny of the Inquisition? Much of the enormities committed by France had been with great probability ascribed to the attack of the combined powers. This, however, he would neither urge as an excuse or a palliation; but he would aver that a combination more dangerous to the tranquillity of Europe, and the liberties of mankind, had never been formed. It had been said that Austria was not the aggressor in the war with France. Had those who said so seen the Declaration of Pilnitz? Let them look at that declaration, take the golden rule, of putting themselves in the situation of the French, and then pronounce upon the question of aggression.—He would not go over the atrocious manifestoes that preceded or followed the march of the combined armies. There was not a man in the house, or at least but one, who would attempt to defend them. But these it seemed were not to be executed—he hoped they were not; but the only security he knew of was, that those who issued them had not the means. Mr. Fox stated the grounds of the war to be three—The opening of the Scheld; the decree of November 19; and the danger to Europe from the progress of the French arms. As to the *first*, ministers did not, and could not state that the Dutch had called upon us to fulfil the terms of our alliance. The plain truth was, that

that to force the Dutch into a war at so much peril to them, which they saw and dreaded, was not to fulfil but to abuse the treaty; and the conduct of ministers, as to this ground of complaint, was wholly disingenuous. *Secondly*, The decree of the 19th of November he regarded as an insult, and the explanation of the executive council as no adequate satisfaction. But the explanation, imperfect as it was, shewed that the French were not disposed to insist upon that decree, and that they were inclined to peace. It was surely the extreme of arrogance to complain of insult without deigning to state the nature of the reparation required. When it was said we must have *security*, we ought at least to tell them what that word was meant to import. *Thirdly*, With respect to the danger of Europe and the balance of power, we had seen the entire conquest of Poland, and the invasion of France, with such marked indifference, that it would be difficult now to take it up with the grace of sincerity. For satisfaction upon this point we had demanded no less than the immediate withdrawal of the French troops from the Austrian Netherlands. Were we then come to this pitch of insolence as to say to France—‘You have conquered a part of an enemy’s territory who made war upon you. We would not interfere at your request to mediate a peace, but we now require

require you to abandon the advantages you have gained, while he is preparing to attack you anew'?—Was this the neutrality we meant to hold out to France—'If you are invaded and beaten we will be quiet spectators, but if you defeat your enemy, if you enter his territory, we declare war against you'? That the invasion of the Netherlands ought to alarm us, if the result of that invasion was to make the country an appendage to France, there could be no doubt. The French had promised to evacuate the country at the conclusion of the war: Was this naked promise sufficient? Certainly not. But it was for us to state candidly and explicitly the security which would be deemed sufficient. What security would they be able to give us after a war which they could not give now? Was it clear that they would refuse that security, if we would condescend to propose it to them in intelligible terms?

But all these grounds of hostility against France, Mr. Fox said, differed totally from the avowed object of the combined armies, our eventual allies in this war; which was no less than the destruction of the republican government of France recently established. To this, then, we came at last—that we were ashamed to own engaging to aid the restoration of despotism, and collusively sought pretext in the
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Scheld and the Netherlands. In all decisions on peace or war, it was important to consider what we might lose and what we could gain. Extension of territory was neither expected nor eligible. On the other hand, would any man say that the events of war might not, with too great probability, produce a change in the internal state of Holland, and the political situation of the stadtholder, too afflicting to anticipate? Was the state of Ireland such as to make war desirable? This was said to be a subject too delicate to touch upon; but he approved not of that delicacy which taught men to shut their eyes to danger. The state of Ireland was indeed alarming, the gross misconduct of administration having brought the government and legislature into contempt in the eyes of the people. He hoped the plan to be pursued would be conciliatory; that concession to the claims of the people would be deemed wisdom; and the time of danger, contrary to the maxims of policy hitherto adopted, the fit time for reform. —After a most able and eloquent, though unavailing, speech from this truly great and illustrious statesman, the question was put, and the address carried without a division.

A very few days subsequent to this debate the intelligence was received that France had declared war against Great Britain and Holland;

land; and, on the 11th of February, 1793, a royal message was delivered to the two houses of parliament, announcing, "That the assembly now exercising the powers of government in France have, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and have since, on the most *groundless pretences*, actually declared war against his majesty and the United Provinces. Under the circumstances of this *wanton and unprovoked aggression* his majesty had taken the necessary steps to maintain the *honor of his crown*, and to vindicate the *rights of his people*. And his majesty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual support of the house of commons, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in prosecuting a *just and necessary war*; and in endeavouring, under the blessing of Providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the progress of a *system which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations*, and is pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice. In a cause of such general concern his majesty has every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who are united with his majesty by the ties of alliance, or who
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feel an interest in preventing the extension of *anarchy and confusion*, and in contributing to the *security and tranquillity of Europe.*"

Such is the famous message, upon the peculiar phrases contained in which the changes have so long been rung with so much noise and so little meaning. Upon this occasion Mr. Pitt contented himself with examining the several articles of the French declaration; and he concluded with asserting, that he found in it nothing but pretexts and allegations too weak to require refutation. "We had, (he said) in every instance, observed the strictest neutrality with respect to France. We have pushed to its utmost extent the system of temperance and moderation. We have waited to the last moment for satisfactory explanation." He then moved the address to the throne.

Mr. Fox expressed his astonishment that the minister should pretend to have acted on a system of temperance and moderation, when every conciliatory proposition on the part of the French had been disdainfully rejected. Every step on our part seemed to indicate a desire to break with France. To have continued earl Gower at Paris after the event of the 10th of August would have implied no recognition of the validity of the government which succeeded to the monarchy, or approbation of their proceedings; and

and it was certainly more eligible to treat with those who exercised the powers of government in a direct than an indirect mode. As the prohibition of exporting corn to France, when it was allowed to other countries, was a positive infraction of the subsisting treaty; and the order received by M. Chauvelin to depart the kingdom was an act of open hostility on our part; he could not allow the declaration of war to be an unprovoked aggression on that of France. He moved, therefore, a suitable amendment to the proposed address.

Mr. Burke pronounced a vehement Philippic, affording a melancholy contrast to the speeches of his better days. Among other extravagances, he took upon him to affirm that the members of opposition had no right to demand from ministers the avowal of any specific object as necessary to the justification of the war. For his part, he had never heard or read of any such principle in theory, or of any such avowal in practice. The first question he conceived to be, whether there was just cause or foundation for the war? The second, how it should be carried on to the greatest effect?—In no instance whatever had any power, at the commencement of a war, declared what the object of it was. It was contrary to the policy of this and every

other country: it was never heard of*. No man, he declared, had a more lively sense of the evils of war than himself. A war with France, in present circumstances, must be terrible; but peace much more so. A nation that had abandoned all its valuable distinctions, arts, sciences, religion, law, order—every thing but the sword, was most dreadful to all countries composed of citizens who only used soldiers as

* The effrontery of this assertion, even in Mr. Burke, is amazing; for it is an incontrovertible historical fact that the present is the only war since the Revolution which has been entered upon without an avowed and definite object. Nothing analogous to it has taken place in our annals since the war against Holland in 1672, the object of which was never avowed, though well known to be the subversion of the existing government, and the eventual partition, of the country. The object of the war immediately succeeding the Revolution was, to compel France to a recognition of the new settlement. Of the war of queen Anne, the restitution of the Spanish monarchy to the House of Austria. Of the war of 1718, the evacuation of the island of Sicily by Spain on the terms of the Quadruple Alliance. Of the maritime war of 1740, the renunciation by Spain of the pretended right of search in the American seas. Of the continental war, the defence of the Pragmatic Sanction. Of the war of 1755, to repel the encroachments of France upon the territorial rights of our colonies in North America. Of the American war, the establishment of the supremacy of Great Britain, and the right of taxation over the same colonies. Even the last of our wars, that with the Dutch in 1780, had a specific object, insignificant and contemptible as it confessedly was, *viz.* the exemplary punishment of the pensionary of Amsterdam, M. Van Berckel.

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a defence. He had no hesitation to pronounce, as in the Divine presence, that ministers had not precipitated the nation into a war, but were brought to it by an over-ruling necessity. He had been grieved to the soul, for four years past, that his utmost exertions were unable to produce, upon the government of the country, or in the public mind, a sense of the danger that approached them. At length the infatuation was removed,—ministers awoke to the peril that menaced; and he pledged himself, therefore, to give them his clear, steady, uniform, unequivocal support. If any charge was to be laid to the share of ministers, it was that of too long delay; but in his early opposition to the views and proceedings of France, he was convinced that he was not accompanied by the feelings of the nation; nor was it till full-blown mischief had alarmed the people and roused the king, that the government could have had a proper support. From those men who could neither vindicate the principles nor deny the power of France, yet impeded the measures taken to secure us against that power, he differed fundamentally and essentially, in every principle of morals, in every principle of manners, sentiment, disposition, and in taste. France, he said, had been for some time in a continual series of hostile acts against this country, both

internal and external. *First*, it directed its pursuits to universal empire, under the name of fraternization, to overturn the fabric of our laws and government; *after this* it invented a new law of nations, subsidiary to that intention; *then* acted upon that law; *next* it directed the principal operations of that law to Great Britain; and, *lastly*, established a horrible tyranny within itself, chased every honest person out of it, held up temptations most seductive to the unenlightened lower order of all countries, and furnished instruments for the overthrow of their government. The putting the king of France to death was done not as an example to France, not to extinguish the race—not to put an end to monarchy, but as a terror to monarchs, and particularly to the monarch of Great Britain. This new-created empire of theirs was only secondary to the accomplishment of their plans of shaking all governments. War with the château, and peace with the cottage, was the basis of their new system. Atheism, he said, was the centre from which ray out all their mischief and villany; and they proceeded to establish it with the sword. He readily allowed that this was the most dangerous war we were ever engaged in; that we were to contend with a set of men now inured to warfare, and led on by enthusiasm and the order of conquest to such a degree,

gree, that they were willing to barter arts, commerce, industry, manufactures, and civilization itself, for the sword. The alliances we may form give, however, a good prospect of *subduing* them ; whereas, were they allowed to proceed, we may singly, and in the end, become their easy prey. The right honorable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had spoken with some asperity of an intention in ministers to restore the ancient government. He would not compare that government with the government of Great Britain ; but certain he was that it would be felicity and comfort compared with the present state of tyranny exercised in France. Their enormities have already produced universal misery ; their misery will drive them to despair ; and out of that despair they will look for a remedy in the destruction of all other countries, and particularly that of Great Britain.

Posterity will judge of the distempered state of the public mind at this period, when the successive speeches uttered by this eloquent madman (and on the comparison there is scarcely any discernible difference between them) were received with the highest demonstrations of admiration and applause,—the house unfortunately thinking themselves enlightened by his arguments, when they were only inflamed by his invectives.

To the present harangue Mr. Sheridan made a most spirited reply. "A dread of France," said this speaker, "ought unquestionably, as we are truly and emphatically told, to be a fundamental principle in the mind of a British statesman. No alteration in her government can change this principle, or ought to suspend this apprehension. But who was the gentleman so peculiarly tenacious of this creed?—the only man in all England who had held the directly contrary doctrine. Had he forgotten, or could that house at least have forgotten, that, in his first contemptuous revilings of the French revolution, he had expressly scorned and insulted them as a nation extinguished for ever, and blotted out of the map of Europe? The historian had merely to record—'*Gallos olim bello floruisse.*' If the consistency of the honorable gentleman could be matter of regular question in that house, he scrupled not to assert that there was scarcely an iota of his new principles to which there was not a recorded contradiction in his former professions.

"The honorable gentleman scorned to put the question upon so mean an issue as, whether the hostile overt-acts committed by France had been sufficiently explained and disavowed to this country: it was a war against the principles of the French government we were to engage in ;

in; and therefore it followed, that it was to be a war to exterminate either them or their principles. This doctrine he thought both wild and detestable; but, admitting that it was right, the honorable gentleman must extend his scorn and obloquy to the minister and his adherents as well as to the opposers of the war; for, though they differed in their conclusion, they had discussed the grounds of the war precisely on the same principle and footing. The honorable gentleman differed equally from both: and in this view he thought it uncandid and unwarrantable in the minister to listen in silence to these inflammatory rants, and even to encourage the war-whoop of a man breathing vengeance and destruction—

——— Quo non præstantior alter
 Ære ciere viros, martemque accendere cantu. VIRG.

“ But the ambition of France, and her aggressions against this country, were not, according to the honorable gentleman, the chief of her offences: Religion demanded that we should avenge her cause: atheism was avowed and professed in France. Was it not, however, notorious, that almost all the men and women of rank and fashion in France, including the far greater part of the present emigrant nobility, whose piety the honorable gentleman was eager

to contrast with republican infidelity, were the genuine and zealous followers of Voltaire and Rousseau? And if the lower orders were ultimately perverted, it was by their precept and example. The atheism, therefore, of the new system, as opposed to the piety of the old, was one of the weakest arguments he had yet heard in favor of this mad, political, and religious crusade.—Mr. Sheridan observed that the honorable gentleman had never made any allowance for the novelty of that situation in which France stood after the destruction of its old arbitrary government. It was an unalterable truth that despotism degrades and depraves human-nature, and renders its subjects, on the first recovery of their rights, unfit for the exercise of them. In the first wildness of liberty they would probably dash their broken chains, to the present injury of themselves, and of all who were near them. Still he feared the enemy less than our allies—For who were those allies? What had been their conduct? Could the honorable gentleman forget his character of the Polish revolution? Who had marred that lovely prospect, and annihilated the fairest offspring of virtue and valor?—those allies who were the chosen, associated, and bosom counsellors in the future efforts of this deluded nation.”

The amendment of Mr. Fox was, after a
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long and interesting discussion, negatived, and the address, as moved by the minister, carried without a division.

The debates in the house of peers during this session were too similar to those of the commons to render a minute narration of them necessary. From the great defection experienced by the Whig party, the numbers of the opposition were reduced very low indeed; but the abilities of the marquis of Lansdown, the lords Lauderdale, Moira, Guildford, &c. gave them both animation and interest. On occasion of the address moved by lord Grenville in reply to the message from the throne, the earl of Lauderdale proposed an amendment coincident with that of Mr. Fox. Lord Stanhope, who spoke on the same side, very properly called the attention of the house to the second article of the treaty of 1786, by which it is expressly declared, that in case of any subject of misunderstanding arising between the two nations, the sending away the ambassador resident at either court should be deemed a rupture. The marquis of Lansdown supported the preceding speakers in their general arguments against the war. “Who (said the noble lord) are the aggressors—they who kept a minister, or they who dismissed him?—they who offered to explain, or they who refused to hear?—they who offered to go on and trade in
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amity, or they who prohibited the exportation of grain to them while it was open to the rest of the world?" The address at length passed in the affirmative, without a division.

On the 18th of February Mr. Fox brought forward a set of resolutions, stating in clear and specific language the sentiments of the friends of peace, and the grounds of difference between ministers and the members of opposition. They were precisely as follow :

First, That it is not for the honor or interest of Great Britain to make war upon France, on account of the internal circumstances of that country, for the purpose either of suppressing or punishing any opinions and principles, however pernicious in their tendency, which may prevail there; or of establishing among the French people any particular form of government.

Secondly, That the particular complaints which have been made against the conduct of the French government are not of a nature to justify war in the first instance, without having attempted to obtain redress by negotiation.

Thirdly, That it appears to this house, that in the late negotiation between his majesty's ministers and the agents of the French government the said ministers did not take such measures as were likely to procure redress, without a rupture,

ture, for the grievances of which they complained; and, particularly, that they never stated distinctly to the French government any terms and conditions, the accession to which, on the part of France, would induce his majesty to persevere in a system of neutrality.

Fourthly, That it does not appear that the tranquillity of Europe, and the rights of independent nations, which have been stated as grounds of war against France, have been attended to by his majesty's ministers in the case of Poland, in the invasion of which unhappy country, both in the last year and more recently, the most open contempt of the law of nations, and the most unjustifiable spirit of aggrandisement, have been manifested, without having produced, so far as appears to this house, any remonstrance from his majesty's ministers.

Fifthly, That it is the duty of his majesty's ministers, in the present crisis, to advise his majesty against entering into engagements which may prevent Great Britain from making a separate peace whenever the interests of his majesty and his people may render such a measure advisable, or which may countenance an opinion in Europe that his majesty is acting in concert with other powers, for the unjustifiable purpose of compelling the people of France to submit

submit to a form of government not approved by that nation.

A debate not less vehement than the former took place ; and, upon a division, the members appeared to be 270 who voted for the previous question, against 44 who supported the motion.

On the 21st of February, Mr. Grey moved an address to the throne, containing a masterly and comprehensive view of the whole subject-matter of dispute. It concluded with stating the striking truth, That the calamities of such a war as was now commenced—a war of vengeance, and not of necessity—must be aggravated, in the estimation of every rational mind, by reflecting on the peculiar advantages of that fortunate situation we had so unwisely abandoned.

Mr. Pitt, in a few words, declaring that this subject required no further discussion, the motion of Mr. Grey was immediately negatived without a division.

Unbounded obloquy having been thrown on the views and characters of those who had opposed the measures of administration, Mr. Sheridan, on the 4th of March, moved, That the house should resolve itself into a committee to consider of the seditious practices, &c. referred
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to in his majesty's speech ; declaring, at the same time, openly and freely, that his intention was to institute a rigorous inquiry into the truth of the reports so insidiously circulated. The motion of Mr. Sheridan was negatived without a division ; but it had the first sensible effect upon the public mind, in exonerating the opposition from the calumnies to which they had been so long exposed, and in weakening the belief of many respectable persons in the reality of those pretended secret machinations against the government which ministers, as Mr. Sheridan declared himself confident, had denounced for no other purpose than to divert the attention of the public from the actual state of things, and to betray them blindly and with greater facility into a war.

On the 15th of the same month, the attorney-general, sir John Scott, introduced his famous "Traitorous Correspondence Bill," by which it was not only, according to the precedent of former bills passed at the commencement of former wars, declared to be high-treason to supply the existing government of France with military stores, &c. but also to purchase lands of inheritance in France, to invest money in any of the French funds, and many other novel and arbitrary regulations. This bill met with much opposition, and several of the clauses of
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it were modified and mitigated in its passage through the two houses.

At this period of the session, also, Mr. Pitt brought forward his annual statement of finance; and scarcely had the war commenced, when a debt of six millions was incurred and funded,—the temporary taxes imposed for defraying the expense of the Spanish armament being now made permanent. Soon after which, the two houses adjourned for the Easter recess.

During this interval, it may be proper to transfer our attention to the state of affairs on the Continent.

In the course of the winter, general Dumouriez had proposed to the Executive Council to take possession of Maestricht, without which he alleged neither the passage of the Meuse nor the territory of Liege could be defended; engaging, by manifesto, to restore it to the Dutch at the end of the war. That important city being then wholly unprepared for defence, the attempt was no doubt extremely feasible; but the government of France, with a firmness which showed their reluctance to break with the maritime powers, resisted this great temptation, and expressly commanded the general to preserve the strictest neutrality towards the United Provinces. No sooner was war decided upon than general Dumouriez hastened to put
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into execution the plan he had formed, to advance with a body of troops posted at the Moerdyke, and, masking Breda and Gertruydenburg on the right, and Bergen-op-zoom, Klundert, and Williamstadt, on the left, to effect a passage over an arm of the sea to Dordt, and thus penetrate at once into the heart of Holland. In the mean time general Miranda had orders, leaving general Valence before Maestricht, to march with all expedition to Nimeguen, in order to oppose the expected invasion of the Prussians on that side.

General Dumouriez, assembling his army in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, entered the Dutch territory on the 17th of February. On the 24th Breda surrendered, through the cowardice or treachery of its governor, count Byland, almost on the first summons. The fort of Klundert was taken, after a brave defence, on the 26th. Within nine days afterwards, Gertruydenburg followed the example of Breda; but Williamstadt made an obstinate resistance; and while the French troops were still engaged in the siege of this small, but strong, fortress, intelligence arrived from the eastern frontier of the Netherlands which materially changed the face of the war. On the 1st of March, general Clairfait, having suddenly passed the Roer in the night, attacked the French posts
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on that side, and compelled them to retreat as far as Alderhaven, with the loss of 2000 men. The following day the archduke, brother to the reigning emperor, carried several batteries, and took nine pieces of cannon. On the 3d, the prince of Saxe Cobourg, who had highly distinguished himself in the war with the Turks, obtained a signal advantage over general Valence and his army, driving them from Aix-la-Chapelle to the vicinity of Liege, with the loss of more than 5000 men and twenty pieces of cannon. The siege of Maestricht was immediately raised; and at midnight, on the 4th, general Miranda gave orders for a general retreat to Tongres, whence the French armies were again compelled to fall back to St. Tron, where Miranda was joined by general Valence, who had by this time evacuated Liege and its territory; and on the 8th they moved towards Tirlemont.

General Dumouriez himself now arrived to take the command in person, leaving the conduct of affairs on the northern frontier to the care of general de Flers. But the army was wholly dispirited by the departure of their general. The Prussians advanced by way of Boisle-duc. A corps of 12000 Hanoverians, reinforced by several thousand British troops, with the duke of York at their head, arrived nearly
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at the same time in Holland ; and the siege of Williamstadt was raised. Instead of proceeding to Dordt, De Flers was compelled to throw himself into Breda, the main body of the army retiring precipitately to Antwerp.

The troops under Miranda and Valence felt all their confidence revive on seeing their former victorious commander at their head ; but the caprice of fortune disappointed their hopes. On the 18th of March a general engagement took place on the Plains of Neerwinden, which continued with unremitted obstinacy from morning till evening, when the French were totally routed, with very considerable loss. Miranda was, upon this occasion, charged by Dumouriez with causing, by his misconduct, the loss of the battle ; but that officer retorted with great spirit on his commander-in-chief, vindicating himself with great ability, and plainly intimating his suspicions of treachery on the part of Dumouriez. He declared that Dumouriez, who had never before failed to consult him upon every occasion, did not even mention the arrangements for the battle of Neerwinden to him ; and that the position of the enemy had not been previously reconnoitred.

The French continued retreating ; and, on the 21st, general Dumouriez took post near Louvain. Here a sort of tacit suspension of

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hostilities took place, and the French army was allowed to march back to their own frontier / without any serious molestation, on condition of evacuating Brussels, and all the other towns of Brabant, &c. still in their possession. On the 27th, general Dumouriez held a conference with an Austrian officer of high distinction, colonel Mack, from whom he did not, as he tells us, conceal his design of marching against Paris, with a view of re-establishing the constitutional monarchy of 1791: and it was agreed that the Imperialists should act as auxiliaries merely in the accomplishment of this plan; not advancing, except in case of necessity, beyond the frontier of France: and that the troops to be eventually furnished by the prince of Cobourg should act entirely under the direction of general Dumouriez.

The designs of Dumouriez did not, however, pass unsuspected at Paris. Three commissioners from the executive power had therefore been dispatched to Flanders, under the pretence of conferring with the general concerning the affairs of Belgium. In this interview Dumouriez expressed himself with great violence against the jacobins. "They would ruin France," said he; "but I will save it, though they should call me a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Monk." He styled the Convention "an horde
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of ruffians ;” and declared, “ that this assembly would not exist three weeks longer ; that France must have a king :” adding, “ that, since the battle of Gemappe, he had wept over his success in so bad a cause.”

On the return of the commissioners to Paris, suspicion being converted into certainty, general Dumouriez was summoned to appear at the bar of the Convention, and M. Bournonville appointed to supersede him. Four new commissioners also were deputed to the army of the north, with powers to suspend and arrest all officers who should fall under their suspicion. On their arrival at Lille, March 28, the commissioners transmitted their orders to general Dumouriez, to appear before them, and answer the charges against him. But the general had already fully arranged his plan, and the Rubicon was passed. He replied, therefore, “ that, in the present exigent circumstances, he could not leave the army for a moment ; that when he did enter Lille, it would be in order to purge it of traitors ; and that he valued his head too much to submit it to an arbitrary tribunal.”

The commissioners now adopted the daring resolution to proceed to the camp ; but they found by experience how dangerous was the attempt to seize the person of a general at the head of his army. On the 1st of April they

arrived, in company with M. Bournonville, at St. Amand, the head-quarters of general Dumouriez; and, being admitted to his presence, explained to him the object of their mission. After a long conference, the general, finding them inflexible in their purpose, gave the signal for a body of soldiers who were in waiting, and ordered M. Bournonville and the four commissioners, in the number of whom was the noted M. Camus, immediately to be conveyed to general Clairfait's head-quarters at Tournay, to be kept as hostages for the safety of the royal family.

Notwithstanding the great popularity of general Dumouriez, symptoms soon appeared in the army of extreme dissatisfaction at this act of treachery and violence. On the morning of the 3d, Dumouriez repaired to the camp of Maulde, and harangued the troops, amidst the murmurs of many of the battalions. On the next day he departed with his suite for Condé, which fortrefs, with Valenciennes, he had engaged to put into the hands of the Austrians: but on the road he received intelligence that it would not be safe for him to enter the place; and, in making his retreat, he fell in with a column of volunteer guards, who called to him to surrender: but the general, trusting to the swiftness of his horse, made, with great difficulty, his
escape

escape to the quarters of general Mack, through a dreadful discharge of musquetry. His example was followed by general Lamorlière, the duc de Chartres, son of the duke of Orléans, and a few hundreds of private soldiers only out of the numerous army which he had commanded with such brilliant success. On the very next day appeared a proclamation from general Dumouriez, containing a recapitulation of his services to the French republic, a glowing picture of the outrages of the jacobins, and of the mischiefs to be apprehended from a continuation of anarchy in France ; concluding with an exhortation to the French to restore the constitution of 1791, and a declaration on oath that he bore arms only for that purpose.

This proclamation was accompanied by a very judicious manifesto on the part of the prince of Cobourg, now commander-in-chief of the armies of Austria. After passing some encomiums on the patriotic views of general Dumouriez, it announced, “ that the allied powers were no longer to be considered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries, in the war ; that they had no other object than to co-operate with the general in giving to France her constitutional king, *and the constitution she formed for herself.*” On his word of honor he pledged himself, “ that he would not come upon the French

territory to make conquests, but solely for the ends above specified :” and his serene highness declared further, “ that any strong places which should be put into his hands would be considered as sacred deposits, to be delivered up when the constitutional government in France should be restored.”

Such was the wise and generous policy of this heroic commander. But, by this time, Antwerp, Breda, and the other conquests of France on the Dutch frontier were evacuated ; and a new and dazzling scene of ambition and aggrandisement began once more to open to the view of the allied powers. On the 8th of April a grand council was held at Antwerp, at which were present the prince of Orange, accompanied by the grand-pensionary Vander Spiegel, the prince of Cobourg, counts Metternich, Starremberg, &c. with the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan ambassadors. Here the whole plan of operations was completely changed, and the prince of Cobourg was most reluctantly compelled to give the sanction of his name to a proclamation of the 9th of April, virtually rescinding all which was contained in that of the 5th.

France appeared at this time, it must be confessed, in a situation truly dangerous. She was now in a state of open war with Austria, Prussia,
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Great Britain, Holland, Spain, Sardinia, and the Sicilies : her principal army had been driven, by a series of unsuccessful attacks, from all her recent conquests ; and was now, by defection of its commander, in a state of complete disorganisation : the Imperialists, assisted by the efforts of England and Holland, were established in great force on the frontier. On the side of the Rhine, the Prussians, under the duke of Brunswic, threatened the important city of Mentz : and, what was perhaps still more alarming to the French government, a most formidable insurrection at this period broke out in the ancient provinces of Brittany and Poitou, now distinguished by the names of the departments of La Vendée and La Loire. After gaining various advantages over the troops sent against them by the Convention, the insurgents, who professed to act under the authority of Monsieur (the count de Provence), as regent of France, they held the city of Nantz itself in a state of siege ; and the situation of the revolted provinces being highly favorable to their designs, and enabling them to receive supplies to any amount, and with the utmost facility, from England, there appeared little probability of their suppression.

The extreme elation of the court of London in particular, at this moment, displayed itself

most conspicuously in a singular memorial presented by lord Auckland, April the 5th, to the States General*, in which his lordship stated, in allusion to the capture of M. Camus and the other Conventional commissioners, that the divine vengeance, for the atrocious crime which had been by their High Mightinesses with horror foreseen, seemed not to have been tardy. "Some of these detestable regicides are now," said his lordship, "in such a situation, that they can be subjected to the sword of the law; the rest are still in the midst of a people whom they have plunged into an abyss of evils, and for whom famine, anarchy, and civil war, are about to prepare new calamities. In short, every thing that we see happen induces us to consider as not far distant the end of these wretches, whose madness and atrocities have filled with terror and indignation all those who respect the principles of religion, morality, and humanity. The undersigned, therefore, submit to the enlightened judgment and wisdom of your High Mightinesses, whether it would not be proper to employ all the means in your power to prohibit from entering your states in Europe, or

* It is true that count Staremberg, the Imperial ambassador at the Hague, also signed the memorial; but, from the shortness of the interval that had elapsed, it evidently could not have been in consequence of orders from his court.

your colonies, all those members of the pretended National Convention, or of the pretended Executive Council, who have, directly or indirectly, participated in the said crime; and, if they should be discovered and arrested, to deliver them up to justice, that they may serve as a lesson and example to mankind.”—To this sanguinary memorial the superior wisdom and humanity of the Dutch government declined any reply; but it remains a striking historic proof of the similar temper and disposition which frequently actuates those who appear to differ most widely in their principles. The spirit of Popery is not confined to those who bear the name of Papists, nor the spirit of Jacobinism to those who are branded with the appellation of Jacobins.

The political creed of the court of London at this period may be clearly traced in a sermon preached before the house of lords, January 30, 1793, by Dr. Horfeley, bishop of St. David's, containing sentiments for which, in the reign of William III. he would have been deprived of his bishopric; but for which, in that of George III. he was shortly after promoted to the superior see of Rochester.—“God, to his own secret purpose,” says this genuine successor of Sibthorp and Manwaring, “directs the worst actions of tyrants no less than the best of godly princes:

princes : man's abuse, therefore, of his delegated authority, is to be borne by resignation, like any other of God's judgments. The opposition of the individual to the sovereign power is an opposition to God's providential arrangements. In governments which are the worst administered, the sovereign power, for the most part, is a terror not to good works, but to the evil ; and, upon the whole, far more beneficial than detrimental to the subject. But this general good of government cannot be secured upon any other terms than the submission of the individual to what may be called its extraordinary evils. St. Paul represents the earthly sovereign as the vicegerent of God, accountable for misconduct to his heavenly master, but entitled to obedience from the subjects."

The energy of the French Convention displayed itself in a most extraordinary manner in the midst of the present circumstances of embarrassment and distress. New commissioners being nominated to succeed Camus and his colleagues, omitted no means of restoring order, and invigorating the spirit of the French army. General Dampierre, who had evinced his patriotism by his resistance to the orders of Dumouriez, was provisionally appointed to the chief command, and in a very short time was so successful in his exertions as to be enabled

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to lead them with confidence into action. From the middle of April to the 8th of May, a variety of partial, though sharp and bloody, engagements took place between the two armies, in which no decisive advantage was gained. On that general Dampierre advanced in person to dislodge a large body of the enemy posted near the Wood of Vicoigne ; but martial ardor prompting him to expose his person too rashly to the enemy's fire, his thigh was carried off by a cannon-ball, and he died the following day, deeply regretted, leaving the command in the hands of general Lamarche. In this action the English troops were engaged in the field for the first time in this war, and behaved with all their characteristic intrepidity ; but by the inexperience of the duke of York, their commander (for there is no royal road to the knowledge of military tactics any more than of geometry), being ordered to the attack of a strong post in the wood, where they were exposed to the fire of some masked batteries, they suffered so much, that it was not thought expedient to make any official return of the killed and wounded.

“ Great God ! ” exclaimed on this occasion one of the French generals to an English officer taken prisoner in the engagement, “ Why do you gallant Britons come hither to destroy us, or be yourselves destroyed ? We have no quar-
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rel with you ; and are fighting only in defence of that liberty which was purchased for you by the best blood of your ancestors."

The siege of Valenciennes being now in contemplation of the prince of Cobourg, it was determined by the allies to attempt an attack upon the fortified camp of Famars, which protected and covered that important fortress, Condé being already invested. At day-break, on the 23d of May, the British and Hanoverians under their royal commander, and the Austrians and German auxiliaries under the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait, made a joint assault upon the advanced posts of the French. The contest was severe ; but the French were evidently worsted, and, in the course of the night, they abandoned their camp, retreating towards Bouchain and Cambray. This success enabled the allies to lay siege in form to Valenciennes. On the 1st of June general Custine arrived to take the command of the armies of the North and the Ardennes ; but he deemed himself unequal to the task of rendering effectual relief to that fortress, before which the trenches were opened on the 14th of that month ; and, towards the beginning of July, the besiegers were able to bring 200 pieces of heavy artillery to play upon it. Mines and counter-mines innumerable were formed also in the course of this siege, both by
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the assailants and the garrison ; and many fierce subterranean conflicts were carried on with various success. But on the night of the 25th July those under the glacis and horn-work of the fortrefs were sprung, on the part of the besiegers, with complete success, and the English and Austrians seized the favorable moment for attacking the covered-way, of which they made themselves masters. On the next day the place surrendered on honorable terms of capitulation, the duke of York taking possession of it in behalf of the emperor of Germany. Nearly at the same time the garrison of Condé yielded themselves prisoners of war, after enduring all the rigors of famine ; and Mentz submitted, not without a long and resolute resistance, to the arms of Prussia.

On the 8th of August the French were driven from the strong position they occupied behind the Scheld, which was known by the name of Cæsar's Camp : after which a grand council of war was held, wherein it was determined that the British, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Hessians, should separate from the Austrians, and form a distinct army, not dependent upon the co-operation of the Austrians. This was strongly opposed by the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait, who clearly saw the fatal consequences
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of a system so different from that which had been adopted with such glorious success by the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene. The British army, conducted by the duke of York, immediately decamped; and, on the 18th of August, arrived in the vicinity of Menin, where some severe contests took place, and the post of Lincelles, lost by the Dutch, was recovered by the English, at the point of the bayonet, led on by general sir John Lake, though very inferior in force, with a signal display of spirit and intrepidity.

Moving, with little resistance, towards Dunkirk, the trenches were opened before that fortress on the 24th; and the duke of York, having entertained a secret correspondence with the governor-general, O'Moran, flattered himself with obtaining speedy possession of the place. On the other side, general Clairfait invested the town of Quefnoy; and the prince of Cobourg, who commanded the covering army, having defeated a body of troops which had been sent for its relief, the place surrendered on the 11th of September.

With these achievements the successes of the allies may be said to have terminated; and Quefnoy was the extreme point of the progress made in the course of this memorable campaign
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by the combined powers against France.—We must now once more change the scene, and revert to the state of affairs in England.

It is a fact most memorable in the history of this eventful period, that, on the 2d of April, M. Le Brun, minister of foreign affairs in France, addressed a letter to lord Grenville, in which, stating that the French republic was desirous to terminate all its differences with Great Britain and to end a war dreadful to humanity, and requesting a passport for a person vested with full powers for that purpose to the court of London; and, in a separate letter, he named M. Maret as the proposed plenipotentiary of France, if this intimation produced the desired effect. This letter was delivered to lord Grenville by a Mr. John Saller, notary-public, who formally attested the receipt of them from M. Le Brun. To this noble advance on the part of the French government the British ministry, obstinate in their errors, paid no kind of attention. From this early concession it is probable that the French perceived their mistake in supposing (as they had, indeed, a good right to do, from the tenor of the existing treaty of 1786) that the dismissal of the ambassador Chauvelin was intended by the court of London as a declaration of war; whereas it subsequently appeared, from the secret negotiation which Mr. Pitt

Pitt was at the same time carrying on with general Dumouriez, that this famous dismissal was a mere act of pride and passion, and by no means of deliberate and premeditated policy. It is even not improbable that, in the thoughtless precipitation of the moment, the second article of the treaty was not at all adverted to by politicians of such a description as now composed the British cabinet. But the hopes of the enemies of France were now high and sanguine; and, although the French executive government unquestionably would not have made any such overture in present circumstances, had they not been previously determined to give ample satisfaction to England, whose friendship and support must have been of the utmost consequence to the reigning party, this consideration had no weight with the British ministry, who would not even deign, in this second paroxysm of blind presumption, to hearken to what M. Maret had to propose.

Far from feeling the slightest inclination to encourage an overture so consonant to the dictates of policy and humanity, a treaty was about this time concluded with the king of Sardinia, by which England bound herself not only "to furnish to his Sardinian majesty a subsidy of 200,000*l.* per annum, to be paid three months in advance," which was an article of trivial moment,

moment, but also “not to conclude a peace with the enemy without comprehending in it the entire restitution of all the dominions belonging to this monarch previous to the commencement of the war;” although it had never been pretended that it was incumbent upon Great Britain to enter into the war against France for any such preposterous purpose.

On the re-assembling of parliament after the Easter recess, the attention of the legislature was forcibly attracted by the unparalleled number and extent of the bankruptcies which had taken place since the commencement of the war, as the first blessed fruits of it, and the almost total stagnation and paralyfis of commercial credit. A select committee was immediately appointed to report their opinion to the house on the best means of applying a remedy to this tremendous evil, which originated, as there was good reason to believe, in the alarm occasioned by the invasion of Holland. The report of the committee stated, that it would be advisable to issue Exchequer-bills, to the amount of five millions, to commissioners nominated for the purpose, for the assistance and accommodation of such mercantile persons as may apply, and who shall give proper security for the sums that may be advanced on interest, for a time to be limited. This mode of relief, dangerous

in its ultimate tendency and liability of abuse, was found extremely beneficial in its immediate operation, and the tide of commerce soon returned to its accustomed channel.

On the 25th of April Mr. Sheridan called the attention of the house to the late extraordinary memorial of lord Auckland to the States General; and made, in the course of his speech, a quotation from Vattel, who says ‘that nations at war ought carefully to abstain from all harsh expressions of hatred, animosity, or contempt, of each other.’—“This rule of policy and decorum,” he said, “had been totally neglected by the noble lord. But the indecency of his late memorial was by no means its worst feature: it disclosed a principle of war entirely new in the history of mankind, viz. *that we were entitled to take upon ourselves the execution of the Divine vengeance*, and, if applied in its full extent, some millions of men must be put to death before we could negotiate for peace. To infer the righteousness of the cause in which we were engaged from the partial success we had obtained was impious and presumptuous. We should be at least silent till we saw the termination of hostilities. Vengeance was the prerogative of the Divinity, to whom alone it ought to be left—a prerogative too high and dangerous to be arrogated or exercised by a
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being so limited in his powers and capacities as man." He concluded with moving an address to his majesty, expressive of the displeasure of the house at the memorial in question; and stating, that the minister who presented it had departed from the principles on which the house had concurred in the measures for the support of the war.

Mr. Pitt entered into an elaborate defence of lord Auckland, and uttered a vehement invective against the Convention; and the motion was rejected by a vast majority of the house.

Some time after this, lord Auckland being returned to England, a resolution was moved in the house of peers by lord Stanhope, importing "that the meaning and intention of the said memorial was to bring the French Conventional commissioners delivered up by Dumouriez to trial, in order to put them to death." His lordship styled the memorial an infamous, horrid, and diabolical paper; and said, that if the resolutions he should move were carried, he should think it his duty to proceed against lord Auckland as the author. Lord Grenville took up the defence of lord Auckland with violence, and declared that the memorial was framed in the spirit, if not in the letter, of the ambassador's instructions: and he moved an amendment, pronouncing it conformable to the sentiments of his

majesty, and consonant to those principles of justice and policy which it became the honor and dignity of the nation to express. Lord Auckland vindicated his own memorial, and avowed it to be his opinion, "that those who caused the death of the king of France were murderers, and that murderers ought to be brought to justice." And the amendment of lord Grenville was carried without a division.

As the charter of the East-India Company would expire in the year 1794, it was the wish of very many enlightened patriots that the trade to the East Indies should be thrown open, and their system of commercial monopoly for ever destroyed. But Mr. Dundas, in the present session, completely extinguished all hopes of this nature by bringing in a bill, which soon after passed into an act, to renew the charter for twenty years, upon terms which varied little from the existing regulations.

On the 2d of May Mr. Grey made his promised and celebrated motion for a reform in the representation. Many petitions were previously presented to the house, pointing to the same object, but, for the most part, by the obnoxious mode of universal suffrage and annual parliaments,—the moderate reformers being almost universally converted into alarmists. That this popular plan of reform would be unattended
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by those terrible consequences which have been so generally apprehended is extremely probable; but the odium under which it had the misfortune to labour was a sufficient reason for the judicious to abandon the idea of it. But the circumstance most remarkable in these petitions was, that the majority of the petitioners claimed the adoption of this plan upon the principles of the duke of Richmond, as a matter of absolute abstract right, and not upon any mere ground of national utility and policy. Nothing certainly can lead to more absurd and dangerous consequences than the admission of a claim of this nature; or, indeed, to suppose that any political right can exist which does not originate in political utility: but there is good reason to believe, that though the petitioners, in consistency with their principles, could not ask less than they imagined to be their undoubted and indefeasible right, they would, for the most part, have been well satisfied with such a moderate and temperate melioration of the present system as would have sufficed to attain the chief practical purposes of parliamentary reform.

The petition from Sheffield was signed by no less than 8000 names; from Norwich, 3700; from Birmingham, 2700; from London and Westminster, 6000. But the most remarkable

by far of the petitions of this day was that framed by the Society of the Friends of the People, and presented to the house by Mr. Grey. It was of such length as to take up near half an hour in reading; and it contained a most masterly recapitulation of the abuses of the present parliamentary system of representation, expressed in very dignified and correct language; and praying the house for an effectual reform of these abuses, in animated terms, without specifying any particular mode of redress.

“Your petitioners complain (say they) that the number of representatives assigned to the different counties is grossly disproportioned to their comparative extent, population, and trade.

“Your petitioners complain that the elective franchise is so partially and unequally distributed, and is in so many instances committed to bodies of men of such very limited numbers, that the majority of your honorable house is elected by less than 15000 electors, which, even if the male adults in the kingdom be estimated at so low a number as three millions, is not more than the two-hundredth part of the people to be represented.

“Your petitioners complain that the right of voting is regulated by no uniform or rational principle.

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“ Your petitioners complain that the exercise of the elective franchise is only renewed once in seven years.

“ Your petitioners thus distinctly state the subject-matter of their complaints, that your honorable house may be convinced that they are acting from no spirit of general discontent, and that you may with the more ease be enabled to inquire into the facts, and apply the remedy.”

After a very accurate statement of the extensive mischiefs arising from these sources, they add—“ Your petitioners must now beg leave to call the attention of your honorable house to the greatest evil produced by these defects in the representation of which they complain, namely, the extent of private parliamentary patronage—an abuse which obviously tends to exclude the great mass of the people from any substantial influence in the election of the house of commons, and which, in its progress, threatens to usurp the sovereignty of the country, to the equal danger of the king, of the lords, and of the commons. Your petitioners are confident that, in what they have stated, they are supported by the evidence of facts; and they trust that, in conveying those facts to your honorable house, they have not been betrayed into the language of reproach or disrespect.

Anxious to preserve in its purity a constitution they love and admire, they have thought it their duty to lay before you, not general speculations deduced from theoretical opinions, but positive truths susceptible of direct proof; and if, in the performance of this task, they have been obliged to call your attention to assertions which you have not been accustomed to hear, and which they lament that they are compelled to make, they intreat the indulgence of your honorable house."

Whoever reads this celebrated petition, and still retains the opinion that the parliamentary representation of this kingdom needs no reform, may be regarded as in a state of mind far beyond the reach of facts or of argument. The allegations of the petition were dwelt upon by Mr. Grey with great eloquence and ability; and all the chief speakers in the house took part in the debate, which was protracted to the unusual length of two days. Mr. Pitt opposed the motion for referring the petitions to a committee, upon the plausible pretext of the danger which would, at the present crisis, be incurred by what he styled a change in the constitution—holding up in terrific prospect the events which had recently taken place in France, though between the political situations of the two countries there existed not the most distant analogy. It could

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not escape notice, that although Mr. Pitt had, from the commencement of his political career, pledged himself never to lose sight of this great object, that perfidious minister had, since his accession to power ten years since, made only one feeble effort for its accomplishment : and he had moreover opposed, almost invariably and with effect, every liberal measure which had from time to time been brought forward in parliament for the extension of the general system of constitutional liberty ; demonstrating, by this means, the necessity of that radical reform which he now professed so vehemently to deprecate. The house at length divided, the votes being 41 *for*, and 282 *against*, referring the petitions to a committee.

On the 21st of June (1793) the king prorogued the parliament. In his speech on this occasion his majesty noticed the rapid and signal successes which had, in an early period of the campaign, attended the operations of the combined armies; the respectable and powerful force which he had been enabled to employ by sea and land ; and the measures which he had concerted with other powers for the effectual prosecution of the war ; all of which afforded the best prospect of a happy issue to the important contest in which we were engaged.—But events unfortunately
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proved that infallibility is not one of the prerogatives of royalty.

On the 10th of January (1793) the parliament of Ireland was convened at Dublin by the earl of Westmoreland, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, the situation of which had for some time past been gradually growing very critical. The sanguine hopes of emancipation which the Catholics, who constituted three-fourths of the whole population of Ireland, had indulged at the time of the military convention at Dunganon in the year 1783 had been quickly extinguished; for it manifestly appeared that the whole body of the Protestants, those who were the most zealous for, as well as those who were most violent against, the cause of parliamentary and political reform, were almost equally hostile to the Catholic claims. The earl of Charlemont himself had, in the strongest manner, discountenanced them; and the Catholics, in despair, seemed to abandon their project. But on the first splendid success of the revolution in France all their former expectations revived with increase of vigor; and the liberal and noble principles of government, promulgated by the National Assembly in its memorable Declaration of Rights, infused a kindred spirit into the minds of many who had been previously friends

friends and advocates of reform on a more narrow and contracted scale.

Ever since the year 1780 the Irish Catholics had chosen from among themselves a general committee of delegates, which sat at Dublin, and whose province it was to watch over the interests of the Catholics as a distinct body; and a numerous association of the friends of liberty, consisting indiscriminately of Protestants and Catholics, had recently been established, under the name of the SOCIETY of UNITED IRISHMEN, whose object it was to obtain a complete emancipation for the Catholics, and a radical reform of parliament on the principles of universal suffrage and annual election.

In the preceding session of 1792 the government had made some concessions to the Catholics, which only served to show that they were regaining some degree of political consequence, and to inspire them with the hope and belief of greater success. By this act all legal obstructions to the intermarriages of Catholics and Protestants were removed. The right of taking apprentices and of keeping schools was restored to them, and they were permitted to practise at the bar. But the grand code of tyranny and oppression still remained in force: and in a report made by a committee of the Society of United Irishmen to the members of it at this period,

period, a most frightful picture is exhibited of the restrictions and disabilities, the pains and the penalties, to which the great body of the Catholics of Ireland were still liable, under the several heads of education, guardianship, marriage, self-defence, exercise of religion, civil franchises, acquisition and enjoyment of property.

The number and extensive scope of the statutes enumerated in the report were calculated to excite the astonishment, no less than the indignation and abhorrence, of every reflecting person—"Statutes," to use the language of the reporters, "unexampled for their inhumanity and impolicy, under the galling yoke of which the great majority of the Irish nation had long patiently languished."—"We recognize," says this excellent report, "a free state in the right exercised by its inhabitants of framing laws for the security of their liberty and property against all invasion: but with us the order of civil association is reversed, and the law becomes the foe, the ruffian that violates the rights and destroys the harmony of society.—As to the favored part of the community, your committee (say they) considering that this black code, worthy of a Turkish divan in its expanded operations over this realm, is utterly subversive of the fundamental principles of the constitution, feel it their duty seriously to inculcate this truth,
that

that our liberties must ever rest on the most precarious foundation, while seven-eighths of our fellow-citizens remain palsied in the exercise of those rights which were our common inheritance.—No constitution can be secure unless the body of the people have an equal interest therein.”

Also the general committee of Catholics published (March 1792) a Declaration, in the strongest terms disavowing and abjuring the most obnoxious tenets imputed to the Catholics, and such as could alone, with any plausibility, be pleaded in palliation of the dreadful rigor of the penal code—such as the doctrine of the deposition of princes by the pope; that no faith is to be kept with heretics—that men may be absolved from the obligation of their oaths—that the pope possesses any civil authority or jurisdiction whatever within the realm; and even that the pope has any claim to the attribute of infallibility, or the power of pardoning sins or moral offences at his will. The Declaration concludes with a most solemn renunciation of all claim or pretence to the lands forfeited by the different acts of settlement and attainder; and an equally solemn disclaimer of any intention to subvert the actually subsisting establishment either in church or state.

In another of their publications they thus in
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pathetic and moving terms invoke the justice and compassion of the legislative power. "Behold us before you, three millions of the people of Ireland, subjects of the same king, inhabitants of the same land, bound together by the same social contract, good and loyal subjects to his majesty, his crown and government, yet doomed to one unqualified incapacity—to an universal civil proscription. We are excluded from the state, we are excluded from the revenues, we are excluded from every distinction, every privilege, every office, every emolument, every civil trust, every corporate right. We are excluded from the navy, from the army, from the magistrature, from the professions. We are excluded from the palladium of life, liberty, and property—the juries and inquests of our country. From what are we not excluded? We are excluded from the constitution.—We most humbly and earnestly supplicate and implore parliament to call this law or universal exclusion to a severe account, and now at last to demand of it upon what principle it stands of equity, of morality, of justice, or of policy.—We demand the severest scrutiny into our principles, our actions, our words, and our thoughts. Where is that people who, like us, can offer the testimony of an hundred years' patient submission to a code of laws, of which no man
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living is now an advocate, without sedition, without murmur, without complaint? Our loyalty had undergone a century of severe persecution for the sake of our religion, and we have come out of the ordeal with our religion and with our loyalty. Why then are we still left under the ban of our country? We differ, it is true, from the national church in some points of doctrinal faith—For this,” say these remonstrants, with a just and decent pride, “we offer no apology. We do not exercise an abject or obscure superstition. If we err, our errors have been, and still are, sanctioned by the example of many flourishing, learned, and civilized nations.”

Adverting once more in this eloquent statement of their grievances to their total and unmerited exclusion from their rights and privileges of the constitution, they say, “this exclusion is the source of every evil; it makes property insecure, and industry precarious; it pollutes the stream of justice; it is the cause of daily humiliation. It is the insurmountable barrier, the impassable line of separation which divides the nation, and which, keeping animosity alive, prevents the entire and cordial intermixture of the people: and therefore inevitably it is that some participation in the liberties and franchises of our country becomes
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the primary and essential object of our ardent and common solicitation.”

As a proof of the sincerity and integrity of the public declaration made by them of their principles, the committee of Catholics, in an admirable address to the nation at large, state, as perfectly coincident with their own, the opinions of the famous Catholic universities of the Sorbonne, Douay, Louvaine, Alcala, Salamanca, and Valladolid, which had been formally consulted relative to the chief points now at issue, by the committee of English Catholics, at the express desire of the English minister, preparatory to the passing of the English Catholic Bill ; —the university of Louvaine, in particular, expressing its amazement that such questions should, at the end of the eighteenth century, be proposed by any learned body, by the inhabitants of a kingdom that glories in the talents and discernment of its natives*.

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* The Queries transmitted to the Foreign Universities were as follow :

First, Has the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatever, in the realm of England ?

Secondly, Can the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, absolve or dispense with his majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance on any pretence whatsoever ?

Thirdly,

The English cabinet seemed, in consequence of the alarming and agitated state of the country, to be fully convinced that some decisive measures of redress must now be adopted in relation to the Catholics; and lord Westmoreland was instructed thus, in the course of his speech to the two houses at the opening of the present session, to express himself:—"I have it in particular command from his majesty to recommend it to you to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be the most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his majesty's Catholic subjects in support of the established constitution. With this view his majesty trusts that the situation of his majesty's Catholic subjects will engage your serious attention, and in the consideration of this subject he relies on the wisdom and liberality of his parliament."

Early in March the expected Bill of Relief was brought into the house of commons by Mr.

Thirdly, Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction either of a public or private nature?

It is scarcely necessary to say, that all the universities consulted answered decidedly, and some of them indignantly, in the negative, to all these queries.

Secretary Hobart, and, in its original form, it appeared well calculated to answer the purpose intended. The influence of the executive government was in this instance no less laudably than powerfully and seasonably exerted; but it had strong obstacles in the bigotry and prejudice of a great majority of the house to encounter. "The inveteracy of some," says a writer well informed on this subject, "was not to be overcome even in the agonies of their despair. Whatever could be saved to them from this wreck of their monopoly they secured by exceptions from the broad and liberal relief which the first form of the bill held out *."

Some of these exceptions were admitted; others were rejected. The chief enacting clause, enabling the Catholics to exercise and enjoy all civil and military offices and places of trust or profit under the crown, was almost paralyzed by the subsequent restrictions,—that it should not be construed to extend to enable any Roman-catholic to sit or vote in either house of parliament, or to fill the office of lord-lieutenant or lord-chancellor, or judge in either of the three courts of Record or Admiralty, nor keeper of the privy-seal, secretary of state, lieutenant or custos rotulorum of counties, nor privy-counsellor, or master in Chancery, nor a general on the

* PLOWDEN'S '*Twenty Months*.'

staff, nor sheriff or subsheriff of any county, with a long catalogue of other disqualifications.

Mr. Foster, speaker of the house of commons, declared, on the second reading of the bill, that he considered it as the prelude and certain fore-runner of the overthrow of the Protestant establishment. And the lord-chancellor Fitzgibbon, who was regarded as the head of the Anti-catholic party, declared, "that it was an absurd and wicked speculation to look to the total repeal of the Popery laws of that kingdom, or to endeavour to communicate the efficient power of the Protestants to the Catholics of Ireland. As long (said his lordship) as the nature of man continues what it is, a zealous Catholic cannot possibly, or with good faith, exercise the powers of government in support of a Protestant establishment, or of the Protestant connection with Great Britain. If, therefore, I am the single man to raise my voice against such a project, I will resist it.

The opposition of the lord-chancellor was seconded with great vehemence by Dr. Agar, archbishop of Cashel, a prelate who had, on a former occasion, distinguished himself by the memorable declaration, "that the Roman-catholic religion was a religion of knaves and fools."

The bill at length, clogged with innumerable modifications and restrictions, passed with few

dissentient voices into a law : and though it stopped far short of Catholic emancipation, and bore no relation to parliamentary reform, it was supposed to be all that the executive government could, at this time, without too violent an exertion, effect ; and upon this account it was received with gratitude and satisfaction. Mr. Curran, an eminent advocate of the Irish bar, and an eloquent speaker in parliament, declared, in relation to the situation of the Catholics, “ that had the petition passed over last year in contemptuous neglect by the Irish parliament been this year rejected by the throne, there remained only one other throne for misery to invoke. From that last and dreadful appeal the country had now been saved by the paternal benignity of the sovereign and father of his people.”—As a farther concession to the reviving spirit of liberty in Ireland, a Libel Bill passed, similar to that of Mr. Fox in England ; the power of the crown to grant pensions on the Irish establishment was limited to the sum of 80,000*l.* ; and certain descriptions of placemen and pensioners were excluded from the privilege of sitting in the house of commons. Also the king declared his acceptance of a limited sum, fixed at 225,000*l.* for the expences of his civil list, in lieu of the hereditary revenues of the crown : “ a measure,” as the speaker, in his
speech

speech to the lord-lieutenant at the close of the session, justly observed, “ essential for effectuating in that kingdom a similar control over the application of the public money to that which had been long established in Great Britain.”

On the other hand, the court was gratified by the passing of Alien and Traitorous Correspondence Bills, analogous to those of England ; and yet more by an act of an extraordinary nature, “ To prevent the election or appointment of assemblies, purporting to represent the people, or any description or number of the people, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, &c. to the king or either house of parliament, for alteration of matters established by law, or redress of alleged grievances in church or state.” This act plainly indicated the apprehensions of government that the Catholics would not be permanently satisfied with the concessions now made to them : and the measure in question was adopted, in order to make it impracticable for them to meet in provincial or national convention. The policy, therefore, of the present session was not to extinguish discontent, but to allay it for the present, and to repress the external symptoms of this political distemperature in future.

The earl of Westmoreland, on proroguing the

parliament on the 16th August (1793), informed the two houses, "that the wisdom and liberality with which they had attended to his majesty's recommendation in favor of his Roman-catholic subjects were highly pleasing to the king." —That the sentiments of the British cabinet were not, however, really favorable to the general interests of liberty too plainly appeared from the manner with which the powers of government were exercised at this time both in England and Scotland.

Notwithstanding the great predominance of the spirit of loyalty, and the numberless addresses of duty and allegiance transmitted from all parts of the united kingdom, and the perfect security of the government, a mean and mercilefs spirit of revenge displayed itself in the prosecution and punishment of very many petty offenders accused of the vague and indefinable crime of sedition—amongst whom were several printers and booksellers; so that it became extremely dangerous to publish any tract or pamphlet reflecting in any manner upon the measures of government, and the liberty of the press was silently and virtually annihilated.

The prosecutions in Scotland were of a nature more important and interesting. The spirit of political reform had diffused itself very widely in that kingdom, blended, as is too frequently
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the case, with the alloy of enthusiasm and theoretic extravagance. A numerous association of persons of this complexion, sent from various towns and districts, met this summer at Edinburgh, under the pompous title of a Convention of Delegates for obtaining Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments. This was no infraction of any known existing law ; and a similar proceeding had taken place in England in the year 1780—a convention of delegates from different parts of the kingdom, for the purpose of obtaining a reform in parliament, meeting in London repeatedly, not only without judicial or parliamentary animadversion, but with national approbation and applause—Mr. Pitt, now first minister, being himself a delegate to this convention.

The extreme indiscretion of the Scottish association appeared, however, very manifest, in their affected adoption of the modes and forms established in the National Assembly of France ; and more especially in their habitual use of the obnoxious term “ Citizen.” But although these things indicated great puerility and want of judgment, it cannot be denied that many persons of great respectability, attending only or chiefly to the object in view, and regardless of these follies which they no doubt disapproved and despised, had accepted the office of dele-

gates, and, with perfect rectitude of intention, entered as members into this association. On a sudden, and while the legality of this conventional assembly was yet unquestioned, divers of the delegates were apprehended (August 1793) on a charge of sedition, and brought to their trial before the High Court of Justiciary, by whom they were found guilty upon evidence which would in the English courts have been held totally inadmissible, and by the judges of that despotic tribunal sentenced to be transported beyond the seas for the term of fourteen years, to such place as his majesty should judge proper.

Of this number were, Mr. Muir, one of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, Mr. Gerald, whose eloquent defect attracted much notice, Mr. Skirving, and Mr. Margarot, who were soon afterwards, with many circumstances of relentless barbarity, conveyed in a government transport, with a crowd of felons of the vilest description, across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans to the settlement of Botany-Bay. The same hard fate awaited Mr. Palmer, an English clergyman of moral character, whose zeal for the dissemination of unitarian principles in religion had induced him to fix his residence at Dundee, where he had opened a chapel and collected a congregation. Being a friend to political no less than religious liberty, this gentleman had
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been engaged in re-printing an address to the people of Scotland on the subject of reform, containing many bold truths and some unguarded expressions; not, however, more censurable than might easily be found in thousands of papers, the political ephemera of the day, which have in England passed altogether unnoticed.

For this offence Mr. Palmer was tried by the Circuit-court of Justiciary, and sentenced to seven years' transportation beyond the seas. The amiable qualities of the individuals who were condemned excited a general sympathy for their sufferings, and inspired into the breasts of thousands a perfect detestation of the man and the minister who had raised himself to power by his pretended zeal for the cause of parliamentary reform, and had now become the most implacable prosecutor of those who still retained the principles which he had abandoned; preferring poverty, exile, and death, to the possession of riches and honors purchasable only at the price of an infamous and profligate apostasy. In relation to these trials, it was contended in vain, though with much strength of legal argument, that the crime charged upon these gentlemen was merely that of *leasing-making*, or public libel; the punishment for which, by the law of Scotland, is *banishment*, under which term transportation to a specific place, which is obviously

viciously a sentence of a severer nature, could not be included. As the forms of procedure in the criminal courts of that kingdom are extremely arbitrary, and the evidence admitted in them to the last degree vague and slight, the punishment annexed ought at least to be mild and moderate: but admitting the charges against the present delinquents to be fully proven, the sentence passed upon them was so disproportionate to their guilt, that the whole transaction was calculated to excite, and in fact it did excite, general indignation and horror, not in Britain only, but throughout Europe. "The trial of the Scottish advocate T. Muir," says a respectable German writer, "who, for various endeavours to effect a reform of the parliament of his country, was condemned to be transported to Botany-Bay, must excite in the breast of every German an esteem for his native land. We here see a man sent to Botany-Bay on account of an accusation to which a German court of justice would have been ashamed to listen*."

The military operations of the autumnal months of the campaign remain to be narrated. In a session of the French Convention, held August 16th, the energetic and fertile genius of Barrere conceived the sublime project of exciting the whole people of France to rise *en*

* ALTONA Journal, A. D. 1794. N^o 3.

masse to expel the invaders from their territory : and by the unremitted exertions of the Committee of Public Safety, this plan, in appearance so chimerical, was regularly digested, and the new levies organized with singular dispatch and ability.

On the 25th of August the duke of York, with his army, arrived before Dunkirk, after waiting long for the train of artillery from England necessary for the siege. During the delay a secret correspondence, carried on by the duke with general O'Moran, governor of the place, was discovered ; O'Moran was dismissed, and afterwards suffered for his treachery ; and the garrison was augmented by a reinforcement of 12000 veteran troops. The design was therefore hopeless. The works were, however, carried on, though with trivial effect, till the 6th of September, on which day the covering army, commanded by the Hanoverian field-marshal Freytag, was unexpectedly attacked and totally routed by a large body of troops suddenly collected by general Houchard ; the marshal himself and prince Adolphus, son of the king of England, were taken prisoners, though afterwards rescued. A grand sortie was at the same time attempted by the garrison with complete success, and the duke of York was compelled on the 7th to raise the siege with the greatest pre-

precipitation, suffering very great loss in his retreat, or, to speak more properly, *flight*. The fine train of heavy artillery from England was only landed to be lost—no less than 114 pieces falling into the hands of the enemy. The French government, however, far from being satisfied with what was effected, charged the general, M. Houchard, with culpable negligence, in not cutting off the retreat of the English army altogether, as it was generally allowed he might with much facility have done: and being denounced by the Jacobin party, he suffered by the severe sentence of the Revolutionary Tribunal. What was still more extraordinary, general Custine, who had signalized himself by very brilliant exploits during the former and the present campaign on the banks of the Rhine, met with the same cruel fate for not attempting, by some grand and decisive effort, the relief of Valenciennes. The world stood amazed at these instances of republican ferocity, and it was imagined by those who were ignorant of the springs by which human nature is actuated, that no general of talents would be found to assume in future the command of the French armies: but events soon demonstrated the grossness of this mistake. In fact, when so much was exacted, none but those who felt the consciousness of superior genius, combined with
heroic

heroic courage, could venture to undertake so perilous a trust.

The French army of the North now took a strong position, under general Jourdain, the successor of Houchard and Custine, near the town of Maubeuge, in the blockade of which the allies were engaged with their whole collected force under the prince of Cobourg. On the 15th of October the enemy made a grand attack upon the army of the prince with such vigor and effect as to compel that able commander to abandon his chain of posts and repass the Sambre. General Jourdain was by this means at liberty to send detachments, in various directions, to Maritime Flanders, where they took possession, with little resistance, of Werwick, Menin, and Furnes. They then proceeded to Nieuport, which was saved only by having recourse to the desperate expedient of an inundation, and Ostend itself was thought not free from danger.

Early in the month of September, Landau had been invested by the combined powers; but that important fortress being covered and protected by the French army posted, under general Irembert, at Weissemburg on the Lauter, general Wurmser, the Austrian commander, on the 13th of October made a grand attack upon the lines, which were carried, with the towns of
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Lauterburg and Weiffenburg, after a comparatively feeble resistance. The French retreated with precipitation, and the forts of Haguenau and Vauban were successively reduced by general Wurmser. In the beginning of November the Conventional commissioners, St. Just and Le Bas, arrived for the purpose of encouraging and re-organizing the troops. They ordered immense reinforcements from the neighbouring departments; and, to afford a third example of what they styled salutary severity, general Irembert, charged with treachery in the affair of Weiffenburg, was sentenced to be shot at the head of the army. General Hoche, who, as commander of the army of the Moselle, had checked the progress of the duke of Brunswic, now advanced to sustain the army of the Rhine under general Pichegru; and these two heroes, who were opposed by the equal bravery and skill of the veteran Wurmser, performed in conjunction prodigies of valor. At length the Austrian commander, overpowered by superior force, was compelled slowly and reluctantly to relinquish his conquests; and, after a continued series of the most obstinate conflicts, the Republican army, on the 27th of December, entered Weiffenburg in triumph, the Imperialists retreating behind the Rhine, and the duke of Brunswic hastily falling back to cover the city of Mentz.

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The siege of Landau was immediately raised, and Keisarlautern, Germersheim, and Spires, were repossessed by the French troops.

Notwithstanding the very serious aspect which the rebellion in La Vendée had for a time worn, the efforts of the Convention were eminently successful also in that quarter. The character of the insurgents, who were the devoted adherents of CHURCH and KING, was made up of ignorance, superstition, and barbarity. It was said that they mingled the sacramental wine with the blood of their adversaries, and administered it to the people. On one of their captured standards, presented to the Convention, was embroidered, on one side the figure of a bishop in his pontificals, and on the reverse the Virgin Mary with an infant Jesus. General Charette, their commander, assaulted the city of Nantz while the citizens were celebrating the civic feast of the 10th of August, but was vigorously repulsed; after which the insurgents were defeated in a variety of engagements madly contested with the generals Westerman, Beysser, and Rossignol; and at the end of October they no longer appeared in any considerable force. An expedition had been planned by the British government, but with many concomitant and characteristic circumstances of incoherence and imbecility, for the purpose of co-operating
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with the royalists on the coasts of Brittany, and the command entrusted to an officer of high and approved merit, the earl of Moira. But this was only a secondary object with the English cabinet, who strained every nerve to exhibit to the best advantage the military talents of the duke of York at the head of a numerous army in Flanders—losing the opportunity, never to be retrieved, of striking a mortal blow into the vitals of France on the opposite quarter. At length, on the 1st of December, when the insurrection was in a manner subdued, the British armament sailed from Portsmouth, and early the next morning they made the coast of Normandy near Cherbourg; but not one of the concerted signals was answered from the shore; upon which his lordship retired to Guernsey, where he learned from undoubted intelligence the discomfiture and dispersion of the royalists, upon whom the vengeance of the Convention, by this time wholly Jacobinical, was exercised with the most savage and wicked ferocity. To the proceedings of this famous assembly, since the æra of the trial and execution of the king, it is now become necessary to advert.

On the 15th of February, 1793, the plan of a new constitution, on pure republican principles, was presented to the Convention by M. Condorcet, a leader of the Brissotine faction,
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in a report from the committee appointed for that important purpose. As the plan in question was universally regarded by all persons, of all parties, as altogether visionary and impracticable, it is superfluous to dwell upon the defects of it. The most striking feature of this extraordinary model of a perfect government was, that the members of the council in which the executive power was proposed to be vested were to be elected by the people at large; and it was apparent that the whole was the dream of a theorist. This failure was particularly unfortunate, as it left all the powers of government, executive, legislative, and judicial, still to be exercised without control by the Conventional Assembly, in which the Jacobins were continually gaining ground upon their adversaries.

In the month of March the celebrated Revolutionary Tribunal, for deciding upon offences against the state, was organised. This dreadful court consisted of six judges, to be elected by a majority of voices in the assembly, to whom were joined a public accuser and two assistants. The sentence of this court was wholly arbitrary, and without appeal; and the crimes on which it was to pronounce were vague, undefined, and undefinable—seeming to comprehend not merely the actions but the words, and even, by a horrid mockery of justice, the thoughts and most

secret intentions, of those suspected of disaffection.

On the 1st of April a decree, fatal in its consequences to the Girondist or Brissotine party, was passed, abolishing the inviolability of the deputies of the Convention when accused of crimes against the state. In the same month the powers of the Committee of Public Safety were so much enlarged, that the Executive Council became mere cyphers in the government. The chiefs of the Brissotines appeared to be astonished and confounded at these daring and desperate measures of their inveterate adversaries, confident in their prowess and popularity, and made no vigorous opposition to decrees evidently intended to pave the way to their destruction. Nearly at the same time it was resolved that the branches of the royal family remaining in France should be detained as hostages for the safety of general Bournonville and the arrested deputies; and that, excepting those confined in the Temple, all the Bourbons should be removed to Marseilles. In this decree the duke of Orléans, though a member of the Convention, and although he had courted popularity by the most degrading and criminal sacrifices, was included.

On the 10th of May the republic was, in opposition to the favorite ideas and secret efforts of
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the Brissotines, who preferred a federal government, upon the plan of that established in America, declared ONE AND INDIVISIBLE. It was now manifest that the Girondists, so inferior to their antagonists in vigor and decision, and even, notwithstanding the intellectual and literary accomplishments of the leaders of the party, grossly deficient in practical talents for government, must finally sink under the contest, of which they were unequal to the management. On the 13th of May M. Condorcet proposed, that the present Convention should be dissolved, and a new Convention chosen on the 1st of November next: but this being violently opposed, the Brissotines, dreading to come to extremities, weakly consented to an adjournment of the motion. On the 18th of May, M. Guadet, insisting that the Convention was no longer free in Paris, and that the power of the state was passing into the hands of the anarchists, moved, much too late to produce any effect, the decisive proposition that the sittings of the Convention be removed to Bourges, and all the constituted authorities of Paris should be broken and dissolved. M. Barrère recommended the appointment of a committee to inquire into the evils complained of, which was, by the pusillanimous compromise of the Girondists, decreed by the Convention.

These half-measures of the Brissotine party only increased the rage and excited the contempt of the Jacobins—accelerating, in all probability, the catastrophe which almost immediately ensued. The city of Paris, in consequence of the violence of the two parties in the Convention, was kept in a state of extreme agitation, and scarcely could the inhabitants of that lawless metropolis be restrained from a renewal of the dreadful scenes lately acted there. The successive sittings of the Convention till the 31st exhibited a shocking picture of tumult and confusion. Very early on the morning of that day the tocsin was sounded, the *générale* beaten, and the alarm-gun fired. Terror pervaded every breast. At seven o'clock the Convention met, and soon a deputation appeared at the bar from the Revolutionary Committees, demanding, amongst various other things, the immediate arrest of Clavière, minister of finance, and Le Brun, of foreign affairs. The department of Paris next appeared, and demanded a decree of accusation against Brissot, Guadet, Roland, Isnard, Vergniaud, and many others of the most distinguished note in the Gironde party. M. Barrère, who had with infinite art and address vibrated between the two factions, now took a decided part with the Jacobins, and, in the name of the Committee
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of Public Safety, proposed that the accused deputies should be invited to suspend themselves from their functions. With this the major part of them complied; and in a short time, being invested with an armed force, and cannon planted at the avenues, a decree passed the Convention, ordering the arrest of the deputies, with the ministers Clavière and Le Brun.

After the public commotions had in some degree subsided, the first step of the triumphant party was to frame the model of a new constitution, which those who were in the actual possession of power, as might also be suspected of the Brissotines, would probably not appear in too much haste to carry into effect. In about a month the completion of the expected constitution was announced, consisting of no less than 124 articles, which, after a very slight discussion, was recognised by the Convention as the Constitutional Act. But as the execution of this act was suspended during the revolutionary crisis, and never subsequently revived, it may, like the former, be suffered quietly to pass into oblivion. Yet was this Jacobine constitution generally regarded as less essentially defective than that of M. Condorcet. Population was, agreeably to the principles of it, the sole basis of representation, the election of members annual, and the right of suffrage universal. The Le-

gislative Body proposes the plan of laws, which are transmitted for confirmation or rejection to the several departments. The Executive Council, consisting of twenty-four members, is chosen by the legislature from a list composed of one nominee from each department; and half the number is renewed by each legislature in the last month of the session. The judicial power to be exercised by persons to be elected yearly by the Electoral Assemblies.

The transactions of the 31st of May caused a great shock throughout the nation, and France seemed ready to fall a prey to the distractions which, at this fatal period, afflicted the new-created republic. Various of the accused deputies effected their escape to different parts of the country which seemed well disposed to rise in support of the authority of the Convention; but the city of Paris and the soldiery remained firm to the government party. The department of Calvados was the first in arms; and, about the beginning of July, a considerable force had assembled, which assumed the appellation of the Departmental Army, under the direction of the fugitive deputies, Petion, Buzot, Barbaroux, &c.: but on their approach to Evreux, they were encountered by the national troops, and soon broken and dispersed, most of the deputies being made prisoners. An insurrection
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also took place in the department of the Gironde, excited by their own proscribed representatives, Vergniaud, Genfonné, Guadet, &c. which was also quickly suppressed. But by far the most formidable resistance to the reigning faction took place in the south, where the three great cities, Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon, entered into a sort of federal league, and seemed to menace the dissolution of the existing authorities. A strong force was dispatched against them, under general Carteaux, about the end of July; and in the beginning of August the Marseillois were driven from the department of Vaucluse, and on the 24th the republicans captured the town of Aix; after which Marseilles threw open its gates and submitted. But the people of Toulon and the French admiral Trugoff entered into a negotiation with the English admiral, lord Hood, who was then cruising in the Mediterranean; and he took possession both of the town and the shipping in the name of Louis XVII. and under the express and positive stipulation that he was to assist in restoring the constitution of 1789.

In the mean time general Kellerman, who commanded the army of the Alps, was dispatched against Lyons, which contained an immense and motley multitude of disaffected citizens of all classes—Girondists, royalists, and

constitutional monarchists. The city sustained, for more than seven weeks, a close and vigilant blockade, and was gradually reduced to a state of extreme distress. Kellerman, not being deemed sufficiently zealous in the cause, was superseded by a general Doppet, to whom the city, now become an heap of ruins, surrendered on the 8th of October. The barbarities exercised upon the inhabitants after the surrender, by order of the Conventional commissioners, shock all the feelings of humanity, and almost surpass the limits of credibility. The guillotine was considered as an instrument of too slow an operation; numbers were destroyed by grape-shot discharged from artillery; and others crowded together in barks, and sunk in the river, which, in Jacobine language, was styled "the revolutionary torrent of the Rhône." After they had satiated themselves with blood and slaughter, a decree passed the Convention, by which the wall and public buildings of the city were ordered to be destroyed, and the name of the city itself, by a sarcasm worthy of such an assembly, changed to that of "Ville Affranchie."

The siege of Toulon was commenced immediately after the reduction of Marseilles. On the 8th of September general Carteaux arrived at the passes of Olioulles, and the city was formally invested. After various encounters, in
which

which the besiegers and the besieged were alternately successful, general Carteaux was removed into Italy, and general Dagobert assumed the command about the beginning of November. Nearly at the same time general O'Hara arrived from Gibraltar with considerable reinforcements, composed of various nations. On the 30th of November the garrison made a vigorous sally under general O'Hara in person, with a view to destroy some batteries upon the heights near the city. The French troops were surprized, and fled; but the victors, pursuing the enemy too far, fell in with a formidable force sent to cover the retreat of the fugitives. The allies fled in their turn, and general O'Hara being wounded, was obliged to surrender himself prisoner. On the morning of the 19th of December the French attacked, with enthusiastic impetuosity, the forts L'Eguillette and Balaguier, which command the city, and made themselves masters of both with great slaughter. A resolution was immediately taken to evacuate the place, which was executed not without extreme danger and difficulty. The town was bombarded from noon till ten in the evening, during which preparations were making for a general embarkation, the wretched inhabitants crowding to the shores, and demanding the promised protection of the English. But
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though great efforts were made, and thousands conveyed on board the shipping, thousands more were left to suffer all that the rage and vengeance of their countrymen could inflict. The stores, and the men of war in the harbour, were set on fire, threatening every instant to explode, and blow all around them into the air. Three ships of the line only, of thirty-one in the harbour, were all that the British admiral was able to carry away, amidst the appalling cries of agony and destruction which completed the horror of the scene.

Such were the fruits of the first continental campaign in which England took an active share. The foul sickens at the view.—The defenceless and abandoned royalists every-where vanquished and butchered; the energy of the French arms triumphing in every quarter; and the armies of the allies driven back with unheard-of slaughter, traversing with giant strides the ground which by inches they had won, and with incessant labour.

Scarcely had the savage and brutal faction of the Jacobins acquired a complete ascendancy, than Marie Antoinette, late queen of France, was removed from the Temple to the common prison of the Conciergerie, where she remained till she was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the 15th of October. The main charge.

charge against her, under a variety of heads, was founded upon her continued and diversified attempts to effect a counter-revolution. A remarkable and very characteristic circumstance was stated in one of the articles of accusation, "that on the 10th of August, 1792, the day of the attack upon the castle of the Tuilleries, she kept the Swiss guards in a state of intoxication, and, presenting the king with a pistol, she said, "This is the moment to shew yourself;" on his refusal calling him "COWARD!" After an hour's consultation the jury brought her in guilty of all the charges. The queen, on hearing the verdict pronounced, fixed her eyes stedfastly on the ground, from which she never was observed to raise them more. The fortitude and dignity with which she conducted herself on her trial did not forsake her to the last. In her degraded and forlorn estate she might indeed consider death less as a punishment than as a release; and, on the day following, she expiated her errors and frailties, whatever they might be, with calm resignation on the public scaffold, and in the same spot where Louis XVI. had previously suffered. This unhappy princess, whose faults are absorbed in pity for her fate, possessed in the most critical situations great firmness of resolution, not a single particle of which could she by any effort
infuse

infuse into the mind of the king her husband : but she was equally destitute of those intellectual talents which command respect, as of the softer virtues, more appropriate to her sex, which conciliate and engage affection.

The fate of the unfortunate deputies of the Gironde party was deferred from time to time, till the complete overthrow of their adherents in the departments should give security to their prosecutors, and afford the proper materials for their conviction. On the 24th of October the trial commenced before the Revolutionary Tribunal, which was on this occasion crowded with anxious spectators. The persons accused were Brissot, Vergniaud, Valazé, Sillery, Fauchet, Fonfrède, Lafource, Genfonné, and fourteen others of inferior note. It is remarkable, that among the crimes laid to their charge was that of having caused war to be declared, first against Austria, and afterwards against England and Holland. As, at the different periods alluded to, the Girondists were the ruling party in the state, the charge was doubtless in a certain sense true ; and, as France sufficiently felt the evils resulting from the war, it perfectly answered the insidious purpose of the Jacobins to represent it as occasioned by the erroneous or criminal politics of the Brissotines, who, in their turn, did not scruple to retort the charge
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upon the Jacobins, as the persons whose clamour and violence made these several declarations unavoidable. The plain truth is, that both parties concurred in both instances, and that the successive declarations in question were at the time regarded by all France, and not without strong color of reason, as just and necessary: and this reciprocation of reproach was manifestly no other than the malignant effusion of an inveterate and infuriate spirit of faction. But the article on which they were convicted was, the having conspired against the unity and indivisibility of the republic, and exciting a rebellion in the departments of the South, and in that of Calvados. Valazé stabbed himself as soon as he heard the sentence pronounced. The remaining one and twenty deputies were, on the 30th of October, conveyed from the prison to the Place de la Révolution, and there executed—meeting their fate with the utmost fortitude, and many of them, actuated by the noblest sentiments of patriotism, exclaiming, under the fatal axe of the guillotine, “*Vive la République !*”

These horrid executions were succeeded by a vast number of others equally abhorrent to every principle of justice and humanity;—for the most part it is scarcely possible to state upon what pretences; though the real fact doubtless

was,

was, that the victims singled out by revenge or suspicion were sacrificed in consequence of their attachment to the vanquished party. In the direful catalogue were found the names of Manuel, president of the Commune of Paris; the brave and veteran general Luckner; the learned and philosophic Bailly; the young and amiable Barnave; the virtuous Rabaut de St. Etienne; and, to mention no more, the celebrated and accomplished madame Roland, wife of the minister of that name, who himself indeed, with Petion, Le Brun, Condorcet, and some others, escaped the scaffold, but terminated their lives no less miserably in various modes. France now began to wear a face of universal horror; and, amongst the tygers in human shape who polluted the air which they breathed and the land on which they trod, the detestable name of Robespierre became about this period incomparably the most conspicuous in infamy. Amid the innumerable sacrifices made by the infernal Revolutionary Tribunal, there was one which seemed to shed a pale gleam of pleasure over the deep and dreadful gloom—this was the execution of Philip duke of Orléans, whose character was made up of an assemblage of vices and crimes, without the intervention of one single solitary virtue. He possessed not, according to common opinion, even the courage almost

most inseparable from high birth, and which gives, when carried to a certain pitch of elevation, a sort of factitious lustre to villany. Finding his fate inevitable, he suffered nevertheless with apparent composure, amid the insults and reproaches of the populace.

As if eager at this period to carry every species of extravagance to the height, the National Convention, if the remnant of the national representation which still retained their seats in the assembly could merit that appellation, seemed on the sudden seized with the wildest phrenzy of impiety. On the 7th of November, Gobet, the republican bishop of Paris, with his grandvicars and various other unworthy members of the ecclesiastical body, entered the hall of the Convention, and solemnly resigned their functions, renouncing, in terms of profane contempt, their profession as Christians, amidst loud acclamations of applause. By a decree of the Commune of Paris, the churches were shut up, and a number of allegorical divinities, Liberty, Equality, &c. were consecrated as objects of worship; and a painted harlot was publicly enthroned in the cathedral of Notre Dame in the character of the goddess of Reason. The observance of the Sunday, that antient and venerable institution, and even the æra in use for fifteen centuries throughout Christendom, were
abolished,

abolished, and a new calendar substituted analogous to that of Greece, agreeably to which the year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days set apart as a sort of Saturnalian festival; each month being divided into decades, and a respite from labour allowed on the tenth day.

The example of the bishop of Paris seemed to excite an enthusiastic spirit of emulation. Lequinio and Laignelot, deputies of the Convention, wrote to that assembly from Rochefort, Oct. 2. "We pass from miracle to miracle—Eight priests of the Catholic persuasion, and one minister of the Protestant church, disrobed themselves on the day of the last decade, in presence of the whole people in the Temple of Truth, heretofore called the Parish Church of this town. In this place there will no longer exist more than one mode of preaching morality—but one repository for the remains of the dead, whose resurrection has been perpetually preached by superstition for the torment of the living."

Boisset, another commissioner in the department of Ardèche, says, "Fanaticism is destroyed! The altars of Christianity are replaced by altars more holy."—Julien, of Toulouse, a member of the Convention, and a minister of the Protestant church for twenty years, publicly, in the midst of that assembly, renounced
his

his functions for ever.—“ I declare (said he) that I will no longer enter into any other temple than the sanctuary of the laws ; that I will acknowledge no other divinity than Liberty, no other worship than that of my country, no other Gospel than the Republican Constitution.” Dumont, one of the National Commissioners, announced to the Convention, “ that, in order to destroy fanaticism, he arrests all priests who celebrate religious ceremonies on Sundays.” Even the existence of Christ, as a real person, was disputed by the ingenuity, or rather the effrontery, of modern infidelity ; and M. Volney, in his admired work, *RUINES de les EMPIRES*, scrupled not to style ‘ Christianisme ’—culte allegorique du Soleil, sous les noms cabalistiques de *Chris-en ou Yef-us* *.”

In allusion to the monstrous transactions of this portentous period, a most eloquent and energetic writer has observed, “ that the reign of atheism in France was avowed the reign of terror. In the full madness of their career, in the highest climax of their horrors, they shut up the temples of God, abolished his worship, and proclaimed death to be an eternal sleep :—

* TACITUS gives an account somewhat different :—
“ Auctor nominis ejus CHRISTUS, qui, Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat.
Annal. 15. § 44.

in the very centre of Christendom, Revelation underwent a total eclipse, while atheism, performing on a darkened theatre its strange and fearful tragedy, confounded the first elements of society, blended every age, rank, and sex, in indiscriminate proscription and massacre, and convulsed all Europe to its centre, that the imperishable memorial of these events might teach the last generations of mankind to consider religion as the pillar of society, the parent of social order, and the safe-guard of nations *."

It is wonderful that, amid the horrors of this dismal period, while "the death-dance of democratic revolution" was still in rapid movement, amongst the tears of affliction, and the cries of despair, "the masque, the song, the theatric scene, the buffoon laughter, went on as regularly as in the gay hour of festive peace †." The picture which enraptured speculatists had once delighted to draw of the glorious and happy effects of this unparalleled revolution was now enveloped in impenetrable gloom, and the flattering delusions of hope had vanished as the unsubstantial colors of the gilded bow; while the enemies and detractors of the fair form of Freedom, now lying prostrate in the dust, exclaimed, "That out of the tomb of a murdered

* Hall's Sermon on Modern Infidelity.

† Burke's 'Regicide Peace.'

monarchy had arisen a vast tremendous unformed spectre, in a guise far more terrific than had ever before appalled the imagination and subdued the fortitude of man."

The manners of Robespierre, who in a short time acquired an absolute ascendancy in the Convention, were uniformly gloomy and austere. Laborious, suspicious, irascible, vindictive, imperious, Barrère termed him "the giant of the revolution.—My astonished genius," said he, "trembles before his."

M. Garat, speaking of his own intercession with Robespierre in behalf of the imprisoned Girondists, says: "Je vis à l'instant qu'il mettoit lui son orgueil, son triomphe, et sa grandeur, à écraser impitoyablement ses ennemis:—Je vis à l'instant que lui ne trouvoit sa sûreté que dans la destruction de tous ceux qui lui inspiroient des craintes*." The figure of this extraordinary man is described as mean and insignificant, his countenance fallow and disgusting; but such was his eloquence, that, when he rose to speak, his personal defects were in a manner forgotten. His voice, which in common conversation was weak and tremulous, in the Tribune acquired the most commanding tone and animated expression; his whole aspect became imposing, and his eyes seemed to flash sparkles of fire. Under

* Mémoires de Garat, p. 57.

the reign of this ferocious tyrant there was under every footstep a mine, in every house a spy, on every bench of justice an assassin. From the Var to the Moselle, from the Pyrénées to the Ardennes, Terror reared her gorgon crest, and the hearts of all were frozen with consternation.

Such has long been the vast superiority of the naval power of England, that, in every war waged for more than a century past, maritime conquests seem regarded by the English nation almost as a matter of course. This expectation was not disappointed in the present war, conducted even by those weak and incapable ministers who so unnecessarily and unjustifiably plunged the country into it. The valuable island of Tobago was taken, by a British squadron under admiral Laforey, about the beginning of April. From an early period of the French revolution the West-India islands belonging to France, and particularly St. Domingo, had been agitated and convulsed by the revolutionary spirit, and by premature and injudicious attempts to confer the rights of free citizens in that part of the globe upon the “gens de couleur,” who constitute a large proportion of the inhabitants. In consequence of the violence of the internal commotions in that extensive island, which had become a scene of dreadful desolation and bloodshed, the settlements of Fort Jérémie and
Cape

Cape Nicola-Mole were surrendered to the English about the latter end of the summer. The islands of Miquelon and St. Pierre, in the Gulf of St. Laurence, were given up at the first summons. Early intelligence of the war being also transmitted to the East Indies, Pondicherri, Mahé, and the other French settlements on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar were captured, with little resistance, by the troops of the India Company, under the conduct of general Stewart.

It is remarkable, that although the chief complaint against the French government, on the part of the English ministry, was founded on its invasion of the rights of neutral powers, those very ministers had no sooner engaged in the war, than, with unblushing effrontery, they adopted the most violent measures to compel the powers still remaining neutral to *fraternise* with England. Mr. Drake, the British envoy at Genoa, peremptorily insisted upon an immediate and unqualified declaration of hostility on the part of that republic against France. But the Genoese government, with equal spirit and dignity, replied, "That if the republic were to be forced from her neutrality, she never would take part with those who had threatened her with such unprovoked injustice."—Lord Hervey, envoy at Florence, took upon him, no doubt in

conformity with his instructions, to insist upon the dismissal of M. de la Flotte, the French ambassador, in twenty-four hours ; and with this demand the grand-duke, who had demonstrated a most decided inclination for peace, knowing the strict connexion subsisting between the king of Great Britain and his brother the emperor, was compelled to comply ; and war was declared by him against France on the 10th of October.

A very memorable declaration was, towards the close of the year (October 29), published by the court of London, professing to state to the world in general, and to the people of France in particular, the sentiments and views of the king of Great Britain in the present crisis of affairs. The language of the declaration is specious and insidious, bearing the stamp of talents far superior to those employed in the correspondence with M. Chauvelin. “ His majesty,” it is said, “ by no means disputes the right of France to reform its laws. It never would have been his wish to employ the influence of external force with respect to the particular form of government to be established in an independent country. Neither has he now that wish, except in so far as such interference is become essential to the security and repose of other powers. Under these circumstances he demands from France, and he demands with justice, the termination

mination of a system of anarchy which has no force but for the purposes of mischief. The king demands that some legitimate and stable government should be established, founded on the acknowledged principles of universal justice, and capable of maintaining with other powers the accustomed relations of union and peace. It is for these objects that he calls upon the people of France to join the standard of an hereditary monarchy, not for the purpose of deciding, in this moment of disorder, calamity, and public danger, on all the modifications of which this form of government may hereafter be susceptible, but in order to unite themselves once more under the empire of law, of morality, and religion."

Under this plausible but ambiguous language, so different from that which emanated a few months before from the wisdom and justice of the prince of Cobourg, the court of London, while she *seemed* to promise extremely fair, left herself, *in fact*, at full liberty to act as she pleased, conformably to the suggestion of her interest or her caprice—prompted only by the varying impulse of the "existing circumstances." The king of England did not even pledge himself not to concur in the partition or dismemberment of the restored monarchy when the season of general tranquillity arrived. The Declara-

tion only says :—" The king would propose none other but equitable and moderate conditions; not such as the expenses, the risk, and the sacrifices, of the war might justify, but such as his majesty thinks himself under the indispensable necessity of requiring with a view to his own security and the future tranquillity of Europe."—And who would venture to pronounce what these might amount to, should victory attend the arms of the allies confederated in so holy and so just a cause?—To speak gravely, it is no wonder that a performance thus abounding in art, and thus deficient in clearness and candour, should produce no sensible effect on even that part of the French nation (and it was certainly at this period a very large and respectable part) which wished for the re-establishment of the constitutional monarchy.

The scheme, equally vile and visionary, of starving France into submission, which was begun before any declaration of hostility was made on either side, in palpable violation and defiance of a subsisting treaty of amity and commerce, and even while the last perfidious professions of perfect neutrality were quivering on the lips of the English ministry, was pursued by the court of London, at this period, with unrelenting malignity. During the sitting of the diet at Ratisbon this year, the minister of Hanover presented

sented a rescript to that assembly, stating, "That notwithstanding the Imperial prohibition of the export of grain to France, the trade is still carried on to the essential service of the enemy; but that it was now ordered at Stade that every **Hamburgh** vessel should be inspected by the guard-ships. The **Hamburgh** merchants," the rescript goes on to complain, "made a futile evasion, in saying that the Imperial prohibition had not yet been published at **Hamburgh**; notwithstanding its publicity could not be doubted, it having appeared in the Directory of the **Lower Saxon Circle**, and was certainly communicated to the magistrates of **Hamburgh**." These worthy citizens, who had received no injury from France, doubtless felt not only some chagrin for the loss of their commerce, but some reluctance to heighten the miseries of a great nation, whose resentment they might one day feel, by adding the horrors of famine to the devouring rage of foreign and domestic war.

On the 6th of November a most alarming order was issued, by the king in council, to all ships of war and letters of marque, "that they shall stop and detain all ships laden with goods the produce of any colony belonging to France, *or carrying provisions or other supplies for the use of such colony*, and shall bring the same, with their cargoes, to legal adjudication in the courts of Admiralty."

Admiralty." This struck at the root of the regular and lawful commerce carried on between the American States and the French West-Indian islands, and could be regarded in no other light than as an act of robbery as violent and unjust upon the high-seas as any that could be committed on the high-ways. It was, however, revoked, after a vast number of captures had been made under its authority, by a subsequent order in six weeks after its publication. But, to adopt the apposite remark of a respectable writer and observer at the time—"why this order was issued, or why it was revoked, it is impossible to say. The politics of Mr. Pitt are entirely of a novel species, and are so contrary to those of all preceding statesmen as to baffle every effort of the historian to explain or comprehend them."

BOOK XIV.

Session of Parliament, 1794. Debates on the Address. Pacific Motion of the Marquis of Lansdown. Investigation of the Conduct of the Scottish Judges. Debates on the Landing of Foreign Troops in the Kingdom. Annual Statement of Finance. Bill for the partial Abolition of the Slave Trade—rejected. Increase of the Land Forces. Voluntary Contributions. Addresses for Peace moved by Mr. Whitbread and the Earl of Guildford. Motion in Favor of La Fayette by General Fitzpatrick. Motion for an Enquiry into the Losses on the Continent, by Major Maitland. Motion for taxing Places and Pensions. Subsily Treaty with Prussia. Message from the King respecting Seditious Societies—Debates upon the Message. Habeas-Corpus Act suspended. Motion by Mr. Sheridan for the partial Abolition of the Test Laws. Series of Resolutions moved by the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Fox. Parliament prorogued. Changes in Administration. Military Transactions. Landreci captured by the Allies. Battle of Fleurus. Continued Successes of the French. General Pichegru crosses the Maese and Waal. Disastrous Retreat of the English Army. Amsterdam surrenders to the Conqueror. Campaign in Spain—and in Italy. Naval Transactions. Conquest of Martinico, of St. Lucia, and Guadeloupe. Guadeloupe re-captured. Conquest of Corsica. King of Great Britain accepts the Gift of the Crown of Corsica from a Corsican Convention. Victory obtained over the Brest Fleet by Lord Howe. Proceedings of the French Convention. Fall of Robespierre. Arrival of Mr. Jay, Ambassador-Extraordinary from America to the Court of London. Emigrations to America. Trials in Scotland for High Treason. Pretended Plot to assassinate the King. Trials of Hardy, &c, for

for High Treason—Mr. Pitt examined as an Evidence—His incredible Want of Recollection. Lord Macartney's Embassy to China. Transactions in Poland—Final Partition of that Kingdom. Political Occurrences in America. Mr. Monroe nominated Ambassador to France—His cordial Reception in that Country.

THE SESSION of PARLIAMENT opened January 21, 1794. The king declared “the circumstances under which they were assembled to require the most serious attention. We are,” said he, “engaged in a contest, on the issue of which depend the maintenance of our constitution, laws, and religion, and the security of all civil society.” His majesty observed with satisfaction the advantageous change which had taken place in Europe since the commencement of the war.—“The circumstances by which the further progress of the allies has been hitherto impeded not only,” said the monarch, “prove the necessity of vigor and perseverance on our part, but, at the same time, *confirm the expectation of ULTIMATE SUCCESS.* Our enemies have derived the means of *temporary exertion* from a system which has enabled them to dispose arbitrarily of the lives and properties of a numerous people, and which openly violates every restraint of justice, humanity, and religion. But these effects have also tended rapidly to exhaust the natural and real strength of the country.”—His majesty

majesty declared, "that he reflected with unspeakable satisfaction on the steady loyalty and firm attachment to the established constitution and government which, notwithstanding the continued efforts employed to mislead and seduce, had been so generally prevalent among all ranks of his people."

The addressee moved in answer to the speech gave occasion to very warm and animated debates in both houses. In that of the peers, the earl of Guildford, son of the late celebrated minister, lord North, observed, "That the object of the war appeared, in the short time that had elapsed since its commencement, to be totally changed. It was at first affirmed to be the protection of our allies and the security of this realm; it now appeared to be the restoration of the French monarchy. The French had, in the course of the last summer, been repeatedly depressed and defeated: was it not probable, therefore, that they would, in these circumstances, have listened to such pacific terms as it became the dignity and justice of this nation to offer." His lordship thought it reasonable to inquire, whether we had not obtained the end originally proposed, after which his majesty's ministers had solemnly declared their intention to pursue every method for obtaining peace? He combated the opinion that the French had made efforts which
they

they could not repeat; and he asked whether ministers had calculated the resources necessary for subduing them. As to the danger apprehended from the dissemination of French principles, they certainly were not to be prevented by the sword. They could be counteracted effectually only by an impression upon the minds of the people of the blessings they derived from their own constitution. His lordship, in conclusion, submitted to the house an amendment to the address, “ imploring his majesty to seize the earliest opportunity to terminate hostilities by an honorable peace.” The amendment was ably supported by the earls of Derby and Lauderdale, the duke of Norfolk, and the marquis of Lansdown. The secretary of state, lord Grenville, in reply, entered into a long account of the contentions and miseries of the French.—“ It was by terror alone that the French were governed; the consequence must soon be that they would rise to oppose it. We had no security for a permanent peace.”—His lordship concluded by expressing, in the words of his majesty’s speech, his perfect confidence of ultimate success.—On the division, the voices in favor of the amendment were twelve only to ninety-seven against it.

A similar amendment was moved in the house of commons by the earl of Wycombe, son to
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the marquis of Lansdown, and opposed by the earl of Mornington in a speech of great length and elaboration, stating in very forcible language, though in tedious and disgusting detail, the miserable condition of that oppressed and distracted country; and reprobating, with just indignation, the extravagances and crimes which had disgraced the conduct of the existing government both in its moral and political capacity.—As an encouragement to the British parliament to continue the contest, his lordship entered into a minute investigation of the finances of France, hazarding, in this part of his oration, some very extraordinary positions. The annual expenditure of France upon the scale of the last year, this nobleman affirmed, would amount to two hundred and sixteen millions sterling, which, he said, exceeded the total collective annual income of the individuals of that country no less than ninety-six millions. He said that the Convention, under the pretence and name of financial operations, had committed direct acts of bankruptcy; that public credit was no more; that the *certain* effect of the measures adopted by the Convention must be to annihilate the stock still remaining of all the necessaries of life in France, and to hasten the moment when it will be *impossible* for the government either to subsist the people at home, or even to maintain

maintain an army upon the frontier; that the resources of the country are exhausting, not slowly and gradually, but with a rapidity and violence which at once dissolved the very elements of the system of political economy; and his lordship pronounced that such unnatural exertions, with their monstrous effects, *must* ultimately yield to a steady and unremitting exertion of our natural and genuine strength, confirmed by the co-operation of our numerous allies. He deprecated, therefore, any attempt towards a negotiation for peace, as it would imply, in actual circumstances, the relinquishing all hope of *indemnity* for the hazard and expense of the war; and recommended, in terms of great earnestness, a vigorous and unremitting prosecution of hostilities.—This speech appeared, from the continued marks of applause which accompanied the delivery of it, to be in perfect unison with the feelings and sentiments of the house. Lord Mornington was set up as the hero of the day, and obtained an easy victory over the ideal republic which he thus depicted.

Mr. Sheridan remarked in reply, that his majesty had warned the house, in his gracious speech from the throne, to keep in sight the real grounds and origin of the war. By the real grounds of the war the noble lord seemed to understand that his majesty alluded to the means

means by which we had been ensnared into it, namely, by repeated declamations on all that the phrenzy, the folly, and rashness, of individuals in France, had either said or written, by which the passions of this country could be roused or their fears excited. And what was the sum?—that enormities were committed there which sickened and disgusted the soul. But was this difficult to be accounted for? The surrounding states had goaded them into a paroxysm of madness and desperation; and, at length, they had turned upon us with the fury which we had inspired. But far from being desirous, in the origin or progress of the revolution, unnecessarily to involve themselves with England, the strongest reproach which the different factions could throw out against each other was the accusation of having been accessory to a war which all parties were anxious to avoid. This appeared by the noble lord's quotations from the famous pamphlet of M. Brissot.

“ We continue to reproach the French,” said Mr. Sheridan, “ for injustice and insolence in the conduct of the war: But what has been the conduct of Great Britain? What has been the language she has held to Genoa, to Switzerland, to Tuscany, and, as far as she dared, to Denmark and Sweden?—She wished to embark the whole world in the confederacy against France

the moment she thought proper to join it ; and the neutrality of which she herself boasted but a month before became instantly a heinous crime in any other state of Europe."

Mr. Sheridan noticed, in sarcastic terms, the disparity between the *motives* and the *object* of the war, as stated by the minister. The motives or causes urged in justification of the war were certain specific injuries and insults offered to Great Britain and her ally the republic of Holland, the offensive conduct of the Convention, and the opening of the Scheld : but the object of the war was the preservation of social order, of regular government, of morals, and religion. Had the French offered adequate reparation for the special offences alleged on our part, we should, it seems, have remained idle spectators of the mighty conflict in which the interests of the whole world were involved, reclining, in luxurious ease, on our commercial couch, and have left the cause of social order, government, morality, and religion, to owe its preservation to the exertions of Sarmatian and Hungarian barbarians. No ; he would not do the minister the injustice to suppose that he was induced to become a party in this great warfare by any personal or petty provocation ; he was, doubtless, actuated chiefly and primarily by the nobler motive of defending the cause of humanity itself
against

against the common enemy of human kind. Which party first said the words "We are at war" was, therefore, a trivial consideration. Every fact proved it to be a war of choice on the part of the government of Great Britain, and from that responsibility the minister neither CAN nor SHALL disengage himself.

Mr. Sheridan then adverted to the probability of ultimate success in the war, as held out in his majesty's speech, and re-echoed by the noble lord. Our first expectations (said he) were founded upon the great body of French royalists who were now destroyed and annihilated. Our second hope was derived from the conflict of the opposite factions: but what has happened?—that conflict has been decided, and the conquering party, supposed the weaker, has exercised the powers of government with still more energy and success than their predecessors. After a succession of bloody and obstinate battles, the invaders of France have been driven back by armies composed chiefly of raw and unpractised recruits. Where now is the scientific confidence with which we were taught to regard the efforts of discipline and experience? The jargon of professional pedantry is mute.—Are our allies in better spirits to act, or fuller of resource to act effectually now than at the commencement of the last campaign? Is it nothing

that the great and momentous experiment has been made, and that a single nation, roused by a new and animating energy, and defending what they conceive to be their liberty, has proved itself to be a match for the enmity and arms of the world? Are we to hold, as a matter of slight consideration the daring and enthusiastic spirit, solicitous of danger and fearless of death, which has spread with electrical rapidity throughout all the descriptions of men constituting that great and gallant nation? or is the pride with which success in such a conflict has swelled the heart of every individual who has shared in it to be estimated as nothing? Who that has reflected on these circumstances, and can boast a mind neither clouded by passion nor corrupted by interest, shall dare to affirm that the allies are nearer at this moment to the attainment of their professed object than at any former period of the war? As to one of the nominal powers of the alliance, the empress of Russia, it may be asked, has she shewn any disposition to contribute any thing to the common cause but her praises and her prayers?

The noble lord, said Mr. Sheridan, overlooking the imperious necessity of circumstances, thinks it fair and candid to contrast the proceedings of the French Convention, relative to matters of supply and finance, with the proceedings

ceedings of the British minister and the British parliament on the same subject;—certainly the contrast is obvious, and long may it continue so. But the noble lord pursues his triumph rather too far, when he endeavours to impress it more forcibly on our minds by making a regular speech for our chancellor of the Exchequer, and exultingly demanding what we should say if his right honorable friend were to come down and propose to this house such ways and means as the minister of finance in France is compelled to resort to? What should we think if he were to rise and propose that all persons who had money or property in an unproductive state should lend it without interest to the public;—that all who had accumulated fortunes out of the bounty of the state should refund what they had received;—or, finally, that all persons possessing great estates should relinquish the produce of them during the war, reserving to themselves only a bare and moderate subsistence? Sir, I agree with the noble lord, that if his right honorable friend were to come down to us with any such propositions, he would not long retain his present situation. There is, therefore, no great danger that the experiment will be made. No, sir; from the modesty and prudence of our present minister, I should augur a very dif-

ferent speech from that which the noble lord has provided for him.—Comparing himself and his own measures with the character and conduct of his rival, he might, without too great an assumption of merit, say, ‘ Do I demand of you, wealthy citizens, to lend your hoards to government without interest? On the contrary, when I come to propose a loan, there is not a man of you to whom I shall not hold out an usurious profit upon every pound you devote to the necessities of your country.—Do I demand of you, my fellow-placemen and brother-pensioners, that you should appropriate any part of your stipends to the public exigencies? On the contrary, am I not daily increasing your numbers and your emoluments? Do I require of you, my latest and most zealous proselytes, that you should make any temporary sacrifices in support of a war, on the success of which you profess to believe that the salvation of Britain and of Europe, and of civilized society itself, depends? No, gentlemen, I scorn to take advantage of your eagerness and your zeal; and to prove that I do not suspect them to want such a test, I will make your interest to coincide with your principle. Instead of calling upon you to contribute to the public revenue, I will quarter some of you upon it; and while others are
absorbed

absorbed in patriotic apprehensions, I will *force* upon them the favorite objects of their personal vanity and ambition.'

The wit and spirit of this brilliant reply excited the involuntary admiration of the house, which, however, unhappily remained unimpressed with the force and weight of its reasonings. The debate was long protracted, and the house, at a very late hour, divided; for the question 279, against it 61 voices.

In the upper house, the customary address passed with little opposition; but, on the 17th of February, the marquis of Lansdown, in a speech replete with sound reasoning, information, and eloquence, moved an address of another description, "to represent to his majesty the extreme improbability of conquering France; that the dismemberment of France, if attainable, would augment the strength of the powers most to be dreaded; that opinions cannot be controlled by arms; that experience has demonstrated the futility of every attempt to interfere in the internal government of France, even if the justice were problematical; and that we must incur the keenest reproaches, if we encouraged farther revolts in a country where we had been unable to save those who put confidence in us from extermination and ruin—therefore to implore his majesty to declare,

without delay, his disposition to make peace upon such just, disinterested, and liberal terms, as were calculated to render the peace lasting; and that he would signify this intention to his allies, that a stop might be put to the effusion of human blood."

His lordship took a very masterly and comprehensive view of the situations, resources, and political objects of the several European states. —“ Whether we look (said this truly able and eminent statesman) to our confederacy on the one hand, or to the neutral powers whom we had irritated on the other, it was impossible to perceive any ground of hope. France, by the pressure of the allies upon her frontier, had become a school of military wonder; and if other governments persevered in their design of thus goading her to almost præternatural exertions, we should see a military republic firmly established in the heart of Europe. The enthusiasm of war has entered into every sentiment and feeling of the soul; but this enthusiasm originated in that of liberty, and the whole country is taught that their sole occupation and passion ought to be arms, because their only good and blessing is liberty.—Such being the state of the war, his lordship asked, Whether it was reasonable to persevere in it? Whether, upon the principle avowed, we ought to succeed? Whether

ther, by the treaties we had made, we were likely to do so? and, above all, Whether the war did not tend to produce consequences fatal to the interests of this country, to those of Europe, and to the general liberties of mankind? In looking to the future fortune of the war, his lordship adverted to the condition of Holland, comparing their present backwardness with their former glorious struggles, and said it exhibited the difference between men when engaged in defence of their own liberties, and when drawn in to fight with others against their will.—In allusion to the declaration of lord Grenville on a former occasion, that security and indemnity were the objects of the war, his lordship said, that it was not the trash of indemnity we ought to pursue; the true object of British policy at this moment was to conciliate France, and restore peace to the world. Treat with the French people, no matter for the name. If our intentions are wise and disinterested, there can be little to settle, and in that would lie our great security. The marquis recommended, as an example to this country in its intercourse with France, the magnanimous conduct of Louis IX. during the civil wars in the reign of Henry III. Were we to manifest sentiments of kindness and generosity, and a desire of peace towards the French, they would evince
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the same. They had always been against a war with England. Mutual rancor (his lordship said) had been excited by mutual invectives. This he earnestly wished to avoid; and that we should behave nobly, not seeking to derive profit from the misfortunes of our neighbours."

The motion was seconded by the duke of Grafton, who had for many years retired from public life, but who now deemed it incumbent upon him to stand forward and bear his decided testimony against the present fatally destructive system of administration. And his grace's sentiments derived great weight and interest, not merely from the unblemished integrity of his character, but the advantage he possessed of that practical wisdom which is the result of long experience in affairs matured by deep and dispassionate reflection. His grace noticed his long absence from the house, and said, He did not flatter himself with the expectation of making any considerable impression upon their lordships, or of effecting, by the observations he had to offer, any material alteration of sentiment. But he hoped, that, by a constant and unremitting attention to their duty, he, and those few with whom he acted, might, in the end, accomplish their object, which was to restore to their country the blessings of peace. He recollected on a former occasion, that a minority,

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small in number at the first, long reviled, treated with scorn and contempt, did, by perseverance and firmness, at length convert their minority into a majority, and put an end to the American war.—His grace said, he firmly believed that the motion before the house was calculated to promote the real welfare of the country; and that, if right measures had been adopted, a torrent of blood might have been spared. The misfortunes in which we were involved had their origin in a doctrine new to him, which was that of implicit confidence in his majesty's ministers; but the greater the confidence placed in them, the greater must be the ultimate responsibility, and they might on a future day be called to answer to their injured country for the difficulties and distresses in which they had, by their ill-judged and impolitic measures, involved her. The present war (his grace said) was undefined in its principle and object. It was what political writers termed *bellum internecionis*—a war of extermination. In such a war are we plunged by the temerity of a minister, who, twelve months before, predicted a continuance of peace for fifteen years; and twelve millions of additional debt has been contracted, instead of that diminution of the public burdens of which he had held out the false and fallacious prospect. His grace declared, that he
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certainly did not mean to recommend the violation of our treaties, nor the desertion of our allies; but if wisdom presided in our councils, and proper terms were offered to the French, the result would, he doubted not, be happy: but a continuance of the present war, upon the principle on which it was now carried on, threatened his majesty's throne and government, and the safety and prosperity of the British nation.

The secretary of state, lord Grenville, concluded a debate of great length, by pronouncing the motion before the house to be ill-timed, inexpedient, and impracticable: whatever, as his lordship had the candor to express himself, might be the MOTIVE for bringing it forward, he rejoiced in the discussion, as it would impress on the parliament and the people the real principles of the war*; it would remind them how

* The frequent and vile insinuations of lord Grenville, respecting the MOTIVES of those who opposed, and still oppose, the measures of the present superlatively detestable administration, never surely could be levelled with less sense and decency than against two noblemen, distinguished for virtue and ability, who had both occupied the highest offices in the state, of long experience and tried fidelity to their sovereign and their country; and in comparison of whom lord Grenville was, in a physical as well as political sense, a mere child—truly noble persons, who could not for a moment, with the least color of plausibility, be supposed actuated by any MOTIVES which were not in the highest degree pure, just, and laudable.

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much they had at stake in the event, and how necessary it was to prosecute it vigorously. He was astonished to see two such men as the noble marquis and duke propose a negotiation for peace without stating any ground on which it could be effected with security. He asked, if either of the noble lords would be negotiator on this occasion, and whether they would assert there was a man in France who had the power to treat with them. SECURITY was the object of the war; but parliament would not, he was persuaded, call upon ministers to declare the degree of security they required, or in what specific mode it was to be obtained. It depended upon a variety of casual circumstances and fluctuating events. He denied the impregnability of the frontier of France, and vindicated the conduct of ministers towards the neutral nations on the ground of political necessity. His lordship affirmed, that our commerce was flourishing, our manufactures increasing, and our revenue prosperous; and mentioned his surprise that the noble lords who supported the motion had not brought forward any specific proposal to obviate the difficulties which impeded a negotiation. In the course of a long speech, similar in all respects to his former wretched effusions, excepting that all intention of INDEMNITY was omitted, his lordship run
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over the catalogue of his common places; while, such is the wonderful effect of prejudice, the house listened with favorable attention, as if he had been uttering oracles of wisdom. On a division there appeared—for the motion 13; against it 103.

The horrible severity of the sentences passed upon the Scottish delinquents, Muir, Palmer, &c. even admitting the conviction to be legal and just, was so flagrant as to excite great attention; and Mr. Adam, a Scottish advocate of great professional ability, on the 4th of February brought forward a motion in the house of commons tending to a revision of the Scottish law of sedition, with a view to assimilate it more nearly to the mild and equitable system of English jurisprudence; but this generous attempt was negatived by a majority of 126 to 31 voices.

It being a matter of very great doubt whether, barbarous as the law of Scotland appeared to be, the Court of Justiciary had not exceeded the limits of their power in substituting the punishment of transportation for that of banishment, imposed by the act of queen Anne, for the offence charged upon the above-named gentlemen, whose character in private life, however mistaken in their public opinions and conduct, was admitted to be in the highest degree respectable,

respectable, Mr. Adam on the 10th of March moved for a copy of the record to be laid before the house, upon the ground of which he meant to question the legality of the sentence; and if his arguments prevailed with the house, as no appeal could lie from the conviction, he should propose an address to his majesty in favor of these unfortunate men. After a masterly legal discussion of the question, Mr. Adam made a sudden transition to the equity and humanity of the proceeding, addressing himself very powerfully to the feelings of the house. "What (said he) is the crime? Misdemeanor. What is the punishment? Transportation; and that the most aggravated and afflicting known to the law—to a desolate island, an inhospitable desert at the extremity of the earth, where all is rude and barbarous, where they must be deprived of all communication with intelligent beings like themselves, where they can find no social pleasure, but are condemned to live with ruffians whom the sword of justice has spared." The motion was opposed by the lord-advocate of Scotland, who praised the Scottish criminal code in high terms, as much superior to that of England, and far better adapted to the suppression of sedition. And Mr. Pitt declared that, in his opinion, no doubt could be entertained either of the legality of the trials, or the propriety

propriety with which the lords of justiciary had exercised their *discretion* on that occasion: and the question was lost on a division of 139 against 32 voices.

On the 25th of March Mr. Adam introduced a third motion, supported by a strong chain of facts and reasonings, relative to the regulation of the Justiciary Courts of Scotland, purporting to bring their general practice nearer to that of the English courts. But Mr. Secretary Dundas affirmed that the Scottish nation was very happy under its own laws, and that the alterations proposed would be a violation of the articles of the Union. On the division it was negatived by 77 to 24 voices.

Early in the session Mr. Dundas had brought a message from his majesty, stating, that a corps of Hessians employed in his service having been brought to the coast on the Isle of Wight to prevent sickness on board the transports, his majesty had given orders they should be quartered in the island.—This corps constituted a part of the army destined to co-operate with the French royalists in La Vendée, under the command of the earl of Moira, the object of whose important expedition was defeated by the mismanagement and procrastination of the cabinet. The house thanked his majesty for the communication: but as it seemed that the ministers of
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the crown meant to pass silently over this transaction, which, though circumstances might render it proper, was in a constitutional view alarming, Mr. Grey, on the 10th of February, called the attention of the house to the subject in a speech replete with historic parliamentary and constitutional information, clearly proving that the measure in question was contrary both to the letter and the spirit of the constitution, as established at the Revolution; and that, whenever such a measure became necessary, ministers should either obtain the previous consent of parliament, or resort to a bill of indemnity. Mr. Grey concluded by moving, "that to employ foreigners in any situation of military trust, or to bring foreign troops into this kingdom without the consent of parliament first had and obtained, is contrary to law." The motion was strongly supported by Mr. Whitbread, lord John Cavendish, and Mr. Francis; the latter of whom forcibly asked, "If it was lawful to bring in 4,000 Hessians to-day, why not 10,000 Austrians to-morrow, and 20,000 Russians the day following?"

Mr. Fox hoped that Englishmen would look to the consequences of this doctrine, and said, that were he to chuse whether the king should possess the power of introducing foreign troops into the kingdom in time of peace or in time

of war, he should much prefer the former, as the exercise of so alarming and exorbitant a prerogative would be more likely to rouse the nation to a general opposition and resistance. Mr. Pitt maintained that his majesty did most unquestionably possess the prerogative in question, and the remedy for any supposed danger was for the house to withhold the supplies for the payment of troops. Mr. Serjeant Adair, one of the most respectable of the party styled Alarmists, admitted that the king had no power to introduce foreign troops into the kingdom; he was a friend to the principle, but not to the form of the motion: he therefore moved the previous question, which was carried by 184 against 35 voices.

The more the great constitutional axiom moved by Mr. Grey was considered, the more reason there was to be dissatisfied at the manner in which it was evaded; especially when the first minister of the crown, by his abominable and daring avowal of the prerogative in question, seemed to aim at the establishment of it to all future times, in consequence of the precedent now made. Mr. Grey, therefore, on the 14th of March, again brought the subject before the house in a somewhat different form. He controverted, in the strongest terms, the opinion given on the former debate by the chancellor
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of the Exchequer, which, coming from such authority, he regarded as of the utmost importance. Mr. Grey said, that he was far from calling in question the propriety or necessity of landing the Hessians; but he could never suffer it to be advanced, as a principle of the constitution, that the king had a right to introduce foreign troops into the kingdom as a regular branch of the royal prerogative. On the contrary, the letter, spirit, and practice of the constitution all militated against it. He referred to the Act of Settlement, by which no foreigner could possibly hold any office of civil or military trust in this kingdom. But was not every officer of an army of foreigners in a place of military trust? These foreigners were not even under any military law in this country; for, as to them, the Mutiny Act had no force or operation. From the moment they landed here they were, *ipso facto*, discharged: they could not, by the law of this country, exist for a moment as an army, and if they deserted or disobeyed there was no statute on which they could be tried. Mr. Grey also referred to the famous case of the Dutch Guards in the reign of king William, and to the peremptory refusal of the house of commons to admit of their remaining in England, notwithstanding the great constitutional services they had performed. And he protested

that he had no other view in the measure he meant to propose than the guarding against the establishment of a dangerous doctrine and a dangerous precedent. He concluded with moving for a bill of indemnity, in which he was seconded by Mr. Francis.

A second vehement debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. Sheridan, with his accustomed and characteristic animation, declared, that to look into books in order to demonstrate the illegality of so monstrous a claim was a mere waste of time. Common sense was sufficient to shew that it could not exist. If at any future interval, when the vigilance of that house slumbered, advantage was taken to land an army of foreigners in the kingdom for unlawful or injurious purposes, would it be pretended that the responsibility of ministers was a sufficient security against the danger? While the house were voting impeachments they might meet the advanced guard of the enemy in the lobby.

Mr. Fox affirmed, that if the introduction of foreign troops into this country was legal, to talk of liberty was absurd, to speak of a free constitution was weakness. And Mr. William Smith remarked, that no constitution could contain a principle which was *felo de se*, which struck at its vital part, and endangered its very existence. Mr. Pitt persisted obstinately in his opinion,

opinion, or at least his assertion, that it was legal and constitutional to introduce foreign troops into the kingdom without the previous consent of parliament ; and said, he was yet ignorant what positive law it contravened, what precedents it violated, or what course of practice it traversed. On the question being called for, the members for the motion were 41 only, against 170, who opposed it—a division which excited the grief and indignation of every honest man and true Briton.

The earl of Albemarle, in an able and constitutional speech, the first which he delivered in parliament, brought forward a motion similar to that of Mr. Grey. His lordship noticed the Bill of Indemnity introduced under the administration of lord North, which passed in the commons, and was lost in the lords, merely from the objection made by the marquis of Rockingham to the preamble, in which it was stated “ that DOUBTS had arisen, &c. ;” whereas the marquis declared that no such doubts had existed, or could exist, as to the pretended right of the crown to land foreign troops in the kingdom. The motion was supported by the earls of Lauderdale and Guildford, the marquis of Lansdown and the duke of Bedford. Lord Romney, who now usually voted with the court, testified as to the share which he had borne re-

pecting the former bill of indemnity. At that time, his lordship said, it was not even pretended that to introduce and employ foreign troops in any part of the king's dominions was legal and constitutional; the only difficulty which arose related to the wording of the preamble in such a way as not to throw a doubt upon the principle. Lord Grenville himself was far from taking up the question in the same high tone with Mr. Pitt. His lordship declared, he saw no use in agitating abstract propositions in parliament, and that it would be better for the country if the question were left open, and ministers remained subject, as at present, to the eventual responsibility of abusing a power, the exercise of which was admitted to be occasionally necessary. In these sentiments the other lords in administration, lord Hawkesbury, lord Auckland, &c. seemed to concur; and the bill was upon this ground merely rejected, though the lords Stanhope and Radnor signed a protest against the decision of the house. Upon the whole, and on a general review of the debates in parliament respecting this great constitutional question, Mr. Pitt appears to have been the only man who took a decided part against the interests of his country.

About this period of the session the chancellor of the Exchequer moved, in the Committee
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of Supply, that the treaty between his majesty and the king of Sardinia be referred to the said committee. Conformably to the tenor of this singular treaty, Great Britain, it will be recollected, was pledged to pay to his Sardinian majesty the sum of 200,000*l.* to be employed in the defence of his own dominions; and also not to make any peace with France of which the restoration of Savoy, and his other conquered territories, was not a preliminary article; although it never had been pretended that Savoy was an object of sufficient consequence to involve us in a war with France, and the English court had even made a boast of its neutrality subsequent to the acquisition of that duchy by the arms of the republic. The resolution enabling his majesty to make good this curious treaty passed without a formal division, though it excited the severe and poignant animadversions of the members in opposition.

The military and naval force voted for the service of the year amounted to more than 250,000 men, including about 35,000 foreigners; and a new loan was created of 11,000,000*l.* three-per-cents. and 2,750,000*l.* four-per-cents. with the addition of a temporary annuity of about one-half per cent. for 11,000,000*l.* actually borrowed by the government.

A bill introduced by Mr. Wilberforce, for
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abolishing that part of the slave-trade which related to the supply of foreign plantations, passed the house of commons under the insidious patronage of Mr. Pitt, but was thrown out in the lords in consequence of the avowed disapprobation of lord Grenville, who was, however, pleased to profess himself an advocate for the principle of the bill, which was (he said) ill-timed pending the inquiry instituted in that house respecting the general question; and in this miserable subterfuge he was seconded by Horseley, bishop of Rochester.

On the 22d of February a message was delivered from the king, purporting, that the avowed intentions of the enemy to invade this country made an increase of the land-forces necessary: and an address was voted by the house, assuring his majesty “of their zealous concurrence in every exertion which became a brave and loyal people in the prosecution of this just and necessary war.” So soon were the lofty and boastful predictions of ministers falsified, and their pride humbled, by a change of fortune of which they would not previously suppose the possibility. A great augmentation of the militia, and an addition of volunteer fencible corps, were accordingly voted, and the dangerous and doubtful expedient resorted to of soliciting voluntary subscriptions, by a formal letter written by the
secretary

secretary of state to the lords-lieutenants of the several counties of the kingdom. This subject was brought by Mr. Sheridan in a regular mode before the house, and reprobated by him and the members of opposition in general as a gross violation of the principles of the constitution and of the privileges of that house. But his reasonings, if not confuted, were set at rest, by moving, as usual upon all inconvenient and troublesome propositions, the previous question.

On the 6th of March Mr. Whitbread moved an address to the king, strongly expressive of disapprobation of the conduct of ministers, and of those measures which had preceded and succeeded the declaration of war—lamenting that his majesty should have been advised to make a common cause with powers whose objects are undefined, but who, as there is much ground to fear, prosecute the war with views and for purposes solemnly disavowed by his majesty, and abhorrent to the principles of a free nation; and stating, that the restoration of Savoy was not of sufficient importance to be made a condition of peace, and requesting his majesty to extricate himself from his present engagements, as they prevented his concluding a separate peace.—Against an armed nation, Mr. Whitbread observed, it was in vain to combine; and in the midst of our pretended successes

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we were called upon to make an extraordinary provision for our internal safety.—The motion was negatived, after a warm debate, by a great majority.—A similar motion, brought forward by the earl of Guildford in the house of lords, was opposed by lord Hawkesbury, who characteristically declared, that, far from objecting to the treaties already made, he only wished there were more, and should rejoice if there was not a neutral power in Europe. He justified the treaty with Sardinia, and maintained the perfect consistency of ministers, who had, in his opinion, acted in a manner highly meritorious. The motion of lord Guildford was rejected by the usual majority.

The melancholy situation of general la Fayette, who, since his flight and capture on neutral ground, had been groaning under the oppression of Austrian cruelty in the dungeons of Olmutz, exciting the compassion of many respectable persons, general Fitzpatrick humanely and generously moved the house of commons, on the 17th of March, for an address to the throne, beseeching his majesty to intercede with the court of Vienna in his favor. The general remarked that La Fayette suffered for his attachment to the constitutional monarchy which we now professedly wished to restore; and he enlarged on the merits and services of that unfortunate

fortunate person as far overbalancing any errors with which he might be chargeable.

Mr. Pitt opposed the motion as equally improper and unnecessary, and denied that M. la Fayette's conduct was ever friendly to the genuine cause of liberty; and he affirmed, that the interference required would be setting up ourselves as guardians of the consciences of foreign states.

The motion was negatived by a majority of more than a hundred voices, by the influence of the minister merely; for the feelings of the house were evidently interested in favor of the victim of Austrian perfidy. It was, however, strongly suspected that the emperor was not the monarch in Europe the most averse to M. la Fayette's restoration to the blessings of freedom—those blessings of which he had been so instrumental to the establishment in America.

On the 10th of April, major Maitland, brother to the earl of Lauderdale, moved for a committee of the whole house to inquire into the causes of the failure of Dunkirk and the evacuation of Toulon, which he enforced by a speech containing severe animadversions on the conduct and policy of administration.

Mr. Jenkinson, son of lord Hawkesbury, rose in opposition to the motion, and took a retrospective view of the transactions of the last campaign,

paign, which (he said) not only demonstrated the valor of the British troops, but the wisdom of the British councils. He affirmed that this country could not think of peace till the government of France, if it deserved the name, was annihilated; and it was the duty of his majesty's ministers to assist *every* party that should arise to overturn it. He was ready to confess, indeed, that government to be strong; but, paradoxically speaking, the stronger it was, so much the more easy was it to be destroyed. The Jacobine Club at Paris gave the tone to the whole kingdom:—let that club, then, be destroyed, and universal consternation and confusion would follow. This event could only be accomplished *by marching directly to PARIS*. But first it would be necessary to take some strong towns on the frontier, in order to open the communication with the inhabitants, who would be glad of the opportunity of flying from anarchy and despotism*.

Mr.

* A comment equally amusing and instructive upon the system of those great politicians who *advised* the overthrow of the French republican government by marching directly to Paris, may be found in the celebrated Rabelais, book i. chap. 33. entitled, “How certain governors of king Picrochole, by their rash counsels, run him into the utmost danger.” These governors were, it seems, the duke of Menreail, earl Spadassin, and captain Merdaille, who, by engaging him in a war with Grandgousier, promised to make him the greatest prince since Alexander

Mr. Pitt objected to the motion, on account of the great *inconveniences* of inquiry, which he affirmed to be of such magnitude that they ought never to be hazarded except when the failures were of a nature to attach incapacity to the character of ministers, or to occasion distrust of the general system which they had adopted: but the failures which had taken place, he submitted to the house, were far from amounting to this.—A direct negative was con-

Alexander of Macedon. Picrochole, flattered by this, bids them put on their hats, and tell him how. They propose leaving a small garrison at home; to march one army immediately to Grandgousier, and destroy him; another to go to Gascony, and capture all the towns, castles, and strong places, in their way. Thence to take Spain and Portugal, and erect two columns much more durable than those of Hercules, in honor of his majesty's name. Moreover, the Straits should be called the Picrocholine Straits. After this Barbary and Italy were to be conquered—Picrochole protesting, by the bye, that he would upon no account kiss the pope's slipper. "But in the mean time," says Picrochole, "what becomes of the first army, after defeating that devilish fellow Grandgousier?" "Why, sir," reply the governors, "re-assembling in Bohemia, they vanquish Norway, Sweden, Gothland, and so up to the Frozen Ocean; whence, by way of Lithuania and Bulgaria, they proceed directly to Constantinople." "I'll go there myself," cries Picrochole, "for I have a mind to be emperor of Trebizonde. All I fear is that infernal Grandgousier." "Don't fear him," said Spadassin, "for Russia shall send in a moment to your assistance 450,000 chosen troops." "Come on then," exclaimed Picrochole, "see that every thing be got ready, and let those who love me follow me."

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sequently put upon the motion, by a majority of 133 voices.

Early in this month Mr. Dundas brought forward his annual statement of the finances of India. He represented, as usual, the prosperous condition of the Company, the increase of their commerce, their investments and their revenues, and drew a flattering picture of their opulence and their greatness. To this he acknowledged that one objection might possibly be made—Why then, it might be asked, apply to the public for pecuniary relief? Why want to borrow money? But this, he affirmed, the Company did not ask: they only asked leave to increase their own capital—an indulgence to which he thought them fully entitled. In order to this he moved a resolution enabling the Company to continue their bonded debt at two millions, and to issue new bonds for one million more, which was agreed to without a division.

Nearly at the same time Mr. Harrison brought forward a motion respecting sinecure places and pensions, all of which above two hundred pounds per annum he proposed to tax, during the continuance of the war, in a certain specified and gradual scale of proportion. Mr. Burke treated this proposition with great disdain, and compared the measure to those which had occasioned the ruin of France. As a measure of
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resource, he said, it was trifling and inadequate ; as a measure of policy, mistaken. If the poor were only to be relieved in this way, then let them submit to the will of God.—Mr. Pitt affirmed that the motion held out false principles. Was the country, instead of a flourishing, in a desperate situation, the house, he thought, would not recur to a measure like the present : but from a review of the state of the kingdom, he contended that the nation had great cause of exultation.—The votes in favour of the motion were 50, against it 119.

At the end of the month of April Mr. Secretary Dundas delivered a message from the king, announcing a treaty of subsidy with the king of Prussia, and a Convention with the States-General. Mr. Pitt, on being urged, stated the terms to be as follows : That his Prussian majesty had agreed to furnish 62,000 troops, for which his Britannic majesty had agreed to pay him 50,000*l.* per month, 100,000*l.* per month for forage, 400,000*l.* to put the army in motion, and 100,000*l.* on their return ; of the aggregate of which sums the States-General were to pay 400,000*l.* as their proportion. Over the troops subsidized at this enormous expense, the direction and command were still vested in the king of Prussia. The motion of Mr. Pitt for the sum of 2,500,000*l.* to be raised by way of loan
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on Exchequer-bills, in addition to the supplies of the current year, for the purpose of making good this engagement, passed by a great majority.

On the 12th of May, Mr. Dundas brought down a second message from the king, importing, that seditious practices had been carried on by certain societies in London, in correspondence with other societies ; that they had lately been pursued with increasing activity and boldness, and been avowedly directed to the assembling of a pretended national convention of the people, in contempt and defiance of the authority of parliament, on principles subversive of the existing laws and the constitution, and tending to introduce that system of anarchy prevailing in France ; that his majesty had given orders for seizing the books and papers of those societies, which were to be laid before the house ; that it was recommended to the house to consider them, and to pursue such measures as were necessary in order to prevent their pernicious tendency.

On the same day, Thomas Hardy, *shoemaker* in Piccadilly, who had acted as secretary to the London Corresponding Society, and Daniel Adams, secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information, two well-known and long-established political associations, were apprehended,

ed, by warrant from the secretary of state, for treasonable practices ; and several other members of the two societies were, in the course of a week, arrested, and committed to the Tower, on a charge of high-treason.

The papers in question being referred to a secret committee of twenty-one members, chosen by ballot, the first report of the committee was brought up by Mr. Pitt on the 16th of May. It contained an account of the proceedings of the societies, from the year 1791, chiefly from the public newspapers. In a very long and studied harangue, Mr. Pitt endeavoured to impress upon the house the belief of the existence of a most dreadful and dangerous conspiracy. He should call, he said, the attention of the house to a society which, though composed of the meanest and most despicable of the people, acting upon the worst Jacobinical principles, had within it the means of the most unbounded extension and rapid increase. It had already risen to thirty divisions in London, some containing six hundred persons, and was connected by a systematical chain of correspondence with other societies, scattered through all the manufacturing towns. That society had arrived at such enormous boldness as to declare itself authorized to scan the proceedings of parliament, and prescribe limits for its actions, beyond which, if

it presumed to advance, an end was to be put to its existence. Such language from people so contemptible might seem the effect of insanity, and deserving only of compassion ; but it had been the result of deep design, moulded into shape, and fit for mischievous effects when opportunity should occur. About six weeks ago the Corresponding Society had, in due form, laid before the Constitutional Society a deliberate and deep-concerted plan for assembling a convention for all England, intending evidently to exercise legislative and judicial capacities, to overturn the established system of government, and wrest from the parliament the power lodged in their hands ; and in their circular letter they had emphatically stated that no time was to be lost. Arms had been actually procured and distributed by these societies ; and, in reference to the nature and magnitude of the objects they had in view, it would appear that a conspiracy so formidable had never yet existed. Mr. Pitt concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill empowering his majesty to secure and detain all persons suspected of designs against his crown and government.

Mr. Fox, in reply, declared, that he had listened in vain to the report now read for a discovery of facts more important than those which had been previously detailed in every new-

newspaper. These societies, however intemperate in some of their expressions and proceedings, uniformly professed their object to be the redress of grievances, by means of a reform in parliament. A convention of the same nature with that now proposed was actually held at Westminster in the year 1780, of which Mr. Pitt might possibly have been, and of which he himself certainly was, a member. This convention held a public correspondence with societies in Yorkshire and other places; they presented the result of their labors to the house, which refused indeed to acknowledge them as delegates, but allowed their right to petition as individuals, and received their petition. By a convention the Irish Catholics had obtained their late privileges. How could the house after these examples, upon what pretence, or with what equity, declare a convention assembling with this object merely in view to be illegal? Such a convention as that stated by the minister would indeed be highly criminal; but the idea was utterly incredible and ridiculous. Were an hundred of these persons insane enough to issue orders, and assume the powers of government, where would they find another hundred disposed to obey them? Let the house consider the extent of authority given to the crown by the sus-

pension of the Habeas-Corpus Act. Every man who discoursed freely upon the subject of the war, which he from his heart regarded as detestable, would be in the hands and at the mercy of the ministers. Former suspension of this act in the case of actual or threatened invasion, at a time when the people were divided in opinion as to the right of the house of Hanover, formed no precedent for the present measure. Who are now the objects of this exercise of despotism?—a number of individuals, without money, without means, possessing neither military or civil authority. The sacrifice required was mighty, the danger was altogether imaginary; or if any danger, any criminality, existed, the old-established laws known to the constitution were fully adequate to the occasion. Mr. Fox repeated “that the pretexts for this violent and dangerous measure were the most flimsy and bare-faced, and the measure itself the most daring and impudent, he had ever witnessed.”

The motion for leave to bring in the bill was carried by a great majority, but in every stage it met with a most resolute and vigorous opposition. Mr. Jekyl observed, “that some persons were indeed in custody upon a charge of high-treason, but was it to be supposed, if guilty, that they would escape if the present bill were
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not passed into a law? Why excite a needless and universal alarm for the sake of punishing a few?"

Mr. Sheridan declared his belief not only that no treasonable practices existed, but that ministers knew this to be the fact, although it might be necessary for their views to create some new cause of panic and consternation. Of all other conspiracies, he said, secrecy was a leading feature; and if this was a conspiracy, it was the most garrulous conspiracy he ever heard of.

Mr. Grey allowed "that in extreme cases extreme powers should certainly be given; but no such case was ever made out in the present instance, for the charge at most amounted only to sedition. In the year 1782 Mr. Pitt himself had been of opinion that parliamentary reform was only to be accomplished by resolutions of the people acting on the *prudence* of the house. This same William Pitt, who had once taught the public to believe that nothing honest was to be expected from the house of commons, now asserted that the people should do nothing for themselves. William Pitt, the reformer of that day, was William Pitt the prosecutor, and persecutor too, of reformers now. But, for his own part, he declared, that, however impugned, parliamentary reform was a cause he would

never desert, nor would he, to preserve power or gratify ambition, ever become AN UNPRINCIPLED APOSTATE."—The bill at length passed by a majority of five to one.

Very warm debates also upon this subject took place in the house of lords, in the course of which lord Thurlow gave it as his opinion, that the facts stated in the report did not amount to the crime of high-treason, though to that of sedition they undoubtedly might, and did. But sedition is by the law of England an offence of a totally different nature from treason; obscurely defined, and of a comparatively trivial import.

After passing the Suspension Bill an address was sent down from the lords to the commons, expressing, in strong terms, their belief in, and abhorrence of, the conspiracy, as stated in the report, and their loyal wishes to bring to exemplary punishment the authors and abettors of such plans, &c. This declaration of the legislature, pending a judicial prosecution, and founded upon *ex parte* evidence, was represented as grossly unjust and unconstitutional, as it must have an obvious and powerful tendency to bias the minds of the juries who were to decide upon the fate of the persons accused, and who, agreeably to the principles of the law of England, ought to be presumed innocent till they were

were found and pronounced guilty after a fair and open trial. The house nevertheless agreed to the address, and negatived an amendment proposed by Mr. Fox, omitting the clause which stated their belief of the conspiracy, without a division.

As provision had in the course of the session been made for embodying a very numerous corps of French emigrants, Mr. Sheridan conceived it a proper opportunity to move for leave to bring in a bill for a new military test, containing merely a declaration of allegiance, such as might admit the whole body of English Dissenters, Catholic and Protestant, to serve their country in a military capacity ; to which he said, that he presumed the house would allow them to be at least as competent as an army of French Papists. Mr. Sheridan very forcibly objected to all tests and disqualifying laws ; but, confining himself on the present occasion to what he thought might probably be granted, he extended his motion only to military and naval tests, leaving all civil employments to remain as they were. But it was in vain to expect any liberal concession from the present odious administration ; and the previous question being moved by Mr. Dundas, upon this unwelcome and perplexing motion, it was carried with little debate, and without any division.

On the 30th of May, the duke of Bedford, who had already distinguished himself as a very able speaker in the house of peers, called for the attention of their lordships on the important subject of peace. His grace stated it to be his design to shew the views which had originally been entertained of the war by the government and the legislature, the different aspects it had subsequently assumed, and the utter impossibility of drawing any specific conclusion of the intention of administration, or limiting the calamity to any object, the attainment of which would satisfy their wishes. For this purpose his grace offered a series of propositions, no less than fourteen in number, for the consideration, and, if approved by their lordships, for the assent of that house.

The 1st resolution imported in substance, that, previous to the commencement of hostilities, it was the professed policy of his majesty's government to preserve a strict neutrality in relation to France, and that, after the declaration of war, the avowed object of it was to oppose all views of ambition and aggrandizement on the part of France.

2. That, before the end of April, 1793, the armies of France were obliged to evacuate Holland and Flanders, and that the prince of Cobourg did, by a proclamation, engage to co-operate

operate with general Dumouriez, to give to France the constitution of monarchy she had formed for herself; and that, within the compass of a few days, this declaration was superseded and revoked.

3. That by the 15th article of the treaty concluded with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel on the 10th of April, it appears that his majesty's ministers were of opinion that the situation of affairs had then entirely changed its aspect, in consequence of which his majesty might not have occasion for the Hessian troops.

4. That on the 14th of July, 1793, a convention was concluded by Great Britain with Prussia, in which the two powers reciprocally promise to continue to employ their respective forces, as far as their circumstances would permit, in carrying on a war equally just and necessary.

5. That on the 23d of August, 1793, the inhabitants of Toulon did declare that it was their unanimous wish to adopt a monarchical government upon the basis of the constitution of 1789; and that lord Hood, by his proclamation of the 28th of August, on taking possession of Toulon, did accept of that declaration.

6. That the constitution to which the preceding declaration and acceptance are applied was the same which his majesty's ambassador

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at the Hague did, in a memorial presented to the States-General on the 15th of January 1793, describe in the following terms, viz. “ It is not quite four years since certain miscreants, assuming the name of philosophers, have presumed to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society. In order to realize this dream, the offspring of their vanity, it became necessary for them to overturn and destroy all established notions of subordination, of morals, and of religion.”—And that this description was applied by the said ambassador to a government with which his majesty continued to treat and negotiate, from its institution in 1789 to its dissolution in 1792; and that his majesty’s ambassador was not recalled from Paris until that government was dissolved.

7. That by the declaration of the 25th of October, 1793, his majesty demands only of France that *some* legitimate and stable government should be established, and that his majesty hoped to find in the other powers engaged with him in the common cause, sentiments and views perfectly conformable to his own.

8. That at the commencement of the war the prosecution of it was considered by his majesty as a cause of general concern, in which majesty had every reason to hope for the co-

co-operation of the powers united with him by the ties of alliance or interest.

9. That it does not appear, in this cause of general concern, that his majesty has received that cordial co-operation.

10. That, on the contrary, it does appear that many of those powers have not co-operated with his majesty; that Russia has not contributed in any shape to the support of this common cause; that the crowns of Sweden and Denmark have united to defend themselves against any attempts to force them to take part in this cause; that the republics of Venice and Switzerland remain neuter; and that Sardinia is subsidized by Great Britain merely to enable him to act upon the defensive.

11. That the king of Prussia, bound by the convention of July, 1793, to act as a principal in the war, in the most perfect concert and the most intimate confidence with his majesty, has, by the treaty of April 1794, obtained the grant of an enormous subsidy from this country in order to secure his farther co-operation; and that Great Britain is, in fact, loaded with his proper share of the burden of a war which is said to be the common cause of every civilized state.

12. That the object of the war, as originally professed on our part, viz. the restoration of
peace

peace on terms of permanent security, is now attainable—his majesty uniformly abstaining from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France.

13. That it is the duty of his majesty's ministers to avail themselves of the present circumstances of the war, by proposing to France equitable and moderate conditions of reconciliation.

14. That in every possible case it is equally desirable that his majesty should make an *explicit* declaration of his views; and if interference is intended, to make the degree of that interference precisely known, in order to induce such parts of the French nation as are dissatisfied with their present government to exert themselves with security.

His grace expatiated upon these propositions much at large, and with great pertinence and propriety; and he spoke in terms of generous approbation of the amelioration produced in France at the period of the revolution, the primordial seeds of which were imported from America. Speculative men, he said, had afterwards attempted to form a system too pure for the present state of society; but time would have softened down these theories, and have made it one of the grandest and most extraordinary structures that was ever formed by man. During this time, excepting some trifling disputes

disputes with the Germanic princes about feudal superiorities in Alsace, nothing happened to excite the jealousy of other powers. Yet two of the despotic potentates of the Continent affected to see the progress of the revolution with alarm, and by means of the Convention of Pilnitz laid the foundation of all the horrors which have followed. The conduct of our allies, with other concurrent causes, had conspired to produce a second revolution. With respect to the question, how a *permanent* peace was to be made with France, his grace professed himself at a loss to comprehend the force of the epithet. As applied to treaties between nations, no peace had ever been, or could ever be, permanent, which it suited the interest and inclination of either party to break; and a peace concluded at the present time was as likely to be permanent as at any other. He then proceeded to move his first resolution.

Lord Fitzwilliam, in a speech of great violence, opposed the position that peace could with safety be made with France. His lordship maintained, that we had a right to interfere in the internal concerns of France till they should be so regulated as to give security to mankind, and that the part Great Britain had acted became a great and magnanimous people.

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The duke of Grafton supported the motion brought forward by the duke of Bedford, and observed, that four years ago the government was acting the Drawcanfir in defence of the balance of power in Europe, and was now seen prize-fighting for the re-establishment of despotism in France. His grace adverted to the request made by the French to the king of England to mediate between them and Austria—an opportunity never to be recalled; and which, if embraced with cordiality and good faith, would have placed Europe at this day in a happy state of peace.

Lord Hawkesbury opposed the motion upon the ground of its being an improper interference with the ROYAL PREROGATIVE. There were, he said, no hopes of a permanent peace with the French; the speediest method of obtaining it would be by a change in that government. We were justified in our endeavours to effect this object in every practicable way; and their making war upon us unprovoked undoubtedly gave us new rights; and this none who understood the law of nations could possibly call in question.

Lord Grenville closed the debate with the false and daring assertion, that in no former war had ministers been called upon to state
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the specific object of it; adding, that he did not see why we were not to interfere with the internal concerns of France, and that the only security we could obtain for a permanent peace was in restoring monarchy to France.—The resolution moved was meanly evaded by the question of adjournment.

On the same day Mr. Fox introduced into the house of commons a series of resolutions precisely similar to those moved by the duke of Bedford in the house of lords, which he illustrated and defended with his wonted ability. A similar debate ensued, and the previous question being moved, on the first resolution, was carried by 210 to 57 voices.

Nothing of historic moment occurred during the remainder of the session, which was protracted till the 11th of July (1794), and then terminated by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty was pleased to urge his two houses of parliament “to persevere with increased vigor and exertion in the present arduous contest against a power irreconcilably hostile in its principles and spirit to all regular and established government.”

Immediately on the rising of parliament some alterations in the administration took place. Earl Fitzwilliam was declared lord-president of the council, earl Spencer appointed lord privy-seal,

seal, the duke of Portland made third secretary of state, and Mr. Windham secretary at war. Before the close of the year lord Fitzwilliam was promoted to the vice-royalty of Ireland; and the earl of Mansfield, late lord Stormont, and nephew to the famous chief-justice, now no more, succeeded to the presidency of the council. Lord Spencer was, by a happy choice, placed at the head of the Admiralty; and lord Chatham, brother to the premier, who had for some years occupied that important department, by a change very beneficial to the public, was now made lord privy-seal.

When the chiefs of the alarmists went over to the court, it was understood that, upon the first favorable opportunity, provision should be made for them and their partizans, which was now done in an ample manner. But no melioration of the general system was discernible in consequence of this new coalition; and the character of the duke of Portland, at least, did not appear in a light more dignified or disinterested to the public at large by his acceptance of an office which he himself had, fourteen years before, strenuously labored to abolish, as superfluous in itself, and affording the means of corrupt influence, and that under a minister whose appointment to office his grace had reprobated as an insult on parliament and the nation. Ten
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new peers were also created, and his grace of Portland's services still farther rewarded with a blue ribband, and the office of chancellor of the university of Oxford*.

As the campaign of 1793 terminated very late in the year, that of 1794 did not commence early. On the 6th of January the duke of Brunswic addressed a remarkable letter to the king of Prussia, in which he announced the resignation of his command, stating as his motive "the unhappy experience that want of connection, distrust, egotism, and a spirit of cabal, had disconcerted the measures adopted during the two last campaigns." He speaks still more plainly in a subsequent part of the letter, saying—"When, instead of the prevalence of an unanimous sentiment and the same principle, each army acts separate and alone, of its own accord, without any fixed plan, without unanimity and without principles, the consequences are such as we have seen at Dun-

* The accumulation of honors and rewards conferred upon this nobleman, in consequence of the abandonment of his principles and his party, produced the following sarcastic epigram, in allusion to his grace's family motto, *CRAIGNEZ HONNIE* :—

When the first Bentinck warn'd his race
Above all things to fear disgrace,
Did his prophetic soul foresee,
PORTLAND, thy base apostasy?

kirk, at Maubeuge, and Landau. Heaven preserve your majesty from great misfortunes!"

It is probable that the king of Prussia, being totally disappointed in his selfish and unprincipled views of sharing in the spoils of vanquished France, had already determined to withdraw himself from the confederacy. In the month of February certain commissioners from the French republic arrived at Frankfort, under the pretext of negotiating for an exchange of prisoners: but the marked distinction with which they were treated, with the long and secret conferences which they held with general Kalkeuth, who was known to possess the entire confidence of the Prussian monarch, indicated a treaty of very different import and far higher moment. Field-marshal Mullendorf succeeded to the duke of Brunswic in the command of the Prussian army; and an intimation to the prince of Cobourg that he had received orders from his court to march towards Cologne was followed, on the 13th of March, by a proclamation addressed to the German empire, announcing his Prussian majesty's actual secession from the grand confederacy. His majesty stated the incredible efforts he had made to oppose this *almost* unconquerable enemy; that he had made every possible sacrifice to the common cause which the natural strength of Prussia would

would permit; and that he is able no longer to take an active part, *from his own means*, without ruining his own dominions, and entirely exhausting the property of his subjects. He concludes, therefore, with declaring his resolution to withdraw his troops from the protection of the empire, and to order them instantly to return to his own dominions.

The British minister, whom it was well known that his Prussian majesty regarded as no statesman, at once fell into the snare, and that famous treaty of subsidy was concluded, conformably to which the sum of near two millions sterling was to be paid to the court of Berlin for the service of an army of 62,000 men, to be commanded by an officer of his Prussian majesty's own appointment. Every article in this treaty betrayed the folly and incapacity of the British ministry; and the circumstance alone of a Prussian general being placed at the head of the troops was sufficient to render the agreement totally inefficient. The wealth of Britain was exhausted to purchase the aid of, at best, a nominal, perhaps a treacherous, ally—one already known to be devoid equally of honor and of honesty.

A general council of war was convened in the month of March at Ath, when the projected arrangements of the campaign, on the part of the court of Vienna, were brought forward by

general Haddick. A main article of this plan was, that general Clairfait, an Austrian officer of great ability and experience, should be appointed to the command of the auxiliary forces, and that the duke of York should act under his orders—the prince of Cobourg continuing at the head of the grand Imperial army. This his royal highness refused with disdain*; and, after much time lost in consulting the two courts, a compromise was at length effected, and it was determined that the emperor himself should take the field in person, and that in him should be vested the supreme command. On the 9th of April his Imperial majesty arrived at Brussels, where he was solemnly inaugurated duke of Brabant. Thence he proceeded to Valenciennes, where his presence diffused at least the appearance of joy; and, on the 16th, the whole army was reviewed by him on the heights above Cateau. On the following day they marched in eight columns to invest Landreci. The French assembled in force at the camp of Cæsar, near Cambray, from which they were, on the 23d, driven by general Otto; but on the very next day a general assault took place upon the different posts of the allies in

* Possibly the duke of York had never heard that Peter the Great served as a private soldier in his own army; or possibly his ideas of greatness might be different.

this quarter on the part of the French, now under the command of general Pichegru, in consequence of a pre-concerted plan, which embraced the whole line of frontier from Treves to the sea. They were for the most part repulsed; but the post of Moncron, where general Clairfait commanded, was attacked with far superior force by Pichegru in person, and carried, after a brave resistance. In consequence of this success Courtray and Menin fell into the hands of the republicans. In return, the fortrefs of Landreci, which had repelled the utmost efforts of prince Eugene in 1712, fell into the hands of the prince of Cobourg, after a siege of no long duration.

A variety of severe but indecisive conflicts took place in the course of the next two months, interesting only to readers of military history. About the middle of June, the French under general Jourdain, who commanded on the side of the Moselle, passed the Sambre, and laid siege to the town of Charleroi. The danger to which this important place, and eventually Brussels itself, was exposed, determined the prince of Cobourg to make one grand effort for its relief. On the 21st he reached Ath, and on the 24th effected a junction with the hereditary prince of Orange and general Beau-lieu, who commanded in that quarter. The

main body of the French army, under general Jourdain, was strongly posted at this time in the vicinity of Fleurus, a place already famous in the annals of war, to cover the siege of Charleroi, on whom, upon the morning of the 26th, the prince of Cobourg hazarded a general attack. The battle continued with unabating fury till near the close of the day, by which time the allied army was defeated in every part, and forced with immense loss to retreat to Halle, thirty miles from the scene of action. This was a great and decisive victory. Charleroi and Brussels fell, without further resistance, into the hands of the enemy.

General Clairfait was equally unfortunate on the opposite side. Ypres, the key of Western Flanders, was besieged by 50,000 men, commanded by general Moreau. After a series of engagements, in which the French were almost uniformly victorious, the Austrians were compelled to fall back upon Ghent, and Ypres surrendered on the 17th of June. The emperor, with his military favorite colonel Mack, now in utter despair of success, left the army, after having in vain issued proclamation after proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants of the Low Countries to rise in a mass in order to repel the invaders.

During this time the duke of York enjoyed
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the honor of a separate command at Tournay, a position which recent events made wholly untenable : it was therefore evacuated, the duke with his army retreating in the direction of Antwerp. What service was rendered to the common cause by the British troops while stationed at Tournay does not clearly appear ; at Fleurus they might perhaps have changed the fortune of the day.

No sooner was the fate of the Netherlands thus decided, than lord Moira arrived from England with a reinforcement of 10,000 men at Ostend, the gallant remains of that army, wasted by long confinement on board the transports by sickness and chagrin, which was destined to re-establish royalty in Brittany. This able officer found his situation very critical, the French being in possession of the country on all sides of him. It was deemed necessary immediately to evacuate the town, and endeavour to force his way, without tents or baggage, through the enemy, to join the army of the allies, which, by great and skilful exertion, he accomplished on the 8th of July: the shipping in the harbour, amounting to 150 sail, with the ammunition, stores, &c. on board, took their departure for Flushing. Thus Ostend, and nearly at the same time Tournay and Ghent, fell into the hands of the French.

In the different and partial engagements which had taken place between general Pichegru and the prince of Cobourg since the fatal battle of Fleurus, the former had greatly the advantage. Mons, Oudenarde, and Nieuport, places widely distant, and soon after Mechlin, surrendered to the republican arms. Antwerp itself was no longer considered as a safe retreat. In this exigency the stadtholder solicited the States-General to make an extraordinary levy throughout the provinces, but without effect. Disaffection, distrust, or at best apathy, every where prevailed, and a speedy revolution in the government was to be apprehended.

About the middle of July general Kleber took possession of Louvain, after defeating general Clairfait, who had possession of the famous camp of the Montagne-de-Fer. The last hope of the allies, that of forming a line of defence from Antwerp to Namur, was relinquished—Namur being on the night of the 16th abandoned by general Beaulieu; and on the 24th the French took quiet possession of Antwerp, the allies having previously set fire to the immense magazines deposited there. Great quantities of stores and ammunition nevertheless in different parts fell into the hands of the enemy. Sluys made a brave resistance, but surrendered after a siege of six weeks, the garrison,

son, by a novelty in this strange campaign, marching out with the honors of war. The strong towns still occupied by the allies on the French territory, Landreci, Quesnoy, Condé, and Valenciennes, being now completely insulated, successively reverted to their former possessors.

The army under the duke of York was, at the beginning of August, stationed at Breda, whence, at the latter end of the month, they retreated towards Bois-le-Duc. But the French forces now re-collected under general Pichegru advancing rapidly, to the number of 80,000 men, early in September, towards this place, the duke on the 16th crossed the Maese, and took a fresh position near Grave, and at the beginning of October he encamped under the walls of Nimeguen. At the latter end of the month his royal highness passed the Waal, leaving general Walmoden with a corps to cover the town of Nimeguen, which was evacuated in great confusion, and with much loss, on the 7th of November. Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and, after a resistance worthy of the best days of the republic, Grave, were successively reduced. Scarcely could the allies now stand any where even upon the defensive, much less form any rational or feasible plan for recovering their stupendous losses.

During the operations of general Pichegru
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in Dutch Flanders, the Austrian general La Tour was totally defeated by general Jourdain near Liege, which city, as likewise Aix-la-Chapelle and Juliers, were occupied by the French. That able commander, the prince of Cobourg, was at this period, in consequence, as believed, of the pressing instances of the court of London, whose projects military and civil he held in avowed contempt, dismissed suddenly from his high and painful pre-eminence: and his successor, general Clairfait, after the most gallant efforts, was compelled early in October to repass the Rhine at Cologne. The French pursued the Imperial troops to the very margin of the river; and as the rear of the Austrian army embarked, they were insultingly asked, if that was the road to Paris?

At the latter end of September the siege of Maestricht was formally commenced, and lasted to the beginning of November, during which interval the attack and defence were conducted with heroic bravery. The atmosphere seemed filled with balls, bombs, and shells, and scarcely was a place of safety left in the whole circuit of the city. Two thousand buildings, public and private, were said to be destroyed, and a general storm was intended on the 4th of November, when the governor, moved by the situation of the inhabitants, and the entreaties

treaties of the magistrates, consented to articles of capitulation with general Kleber, who entered the place on that same day.

After this conquest the French armies enjoyed some weeks of comparative repose; but general Pichegru had still greater designs in contemplation, and only waited for the advantage of the frost, which set in with unusual rigor about the middle of December. In the course of a week the Maese and the Waal were frozen over, and on the 27th a strong column of French crossed the former of those rivers, while another corps made themselves masters of the Bommel. But the French general did not make his grand movement till the 10th of January, 1795, when the main body of his forces crossed the Waal at different points, and made a general attack upon the lines of the allies, extending between Nimeguen and Arnheim, under the command of general Walmoden,—the duke of York having by this time prudently returned to England. The allies were defeated in every quarter. A precipitate retreat was ordered towards Amersfort and Deventer. In this retreat, which differed little from a flight, the wretched fugitives were exposed to every species of distress which it is possible for human-nature to suffer. From the want of common necessaries in the allied army, a dreadful sickness and mortality prevailed,

prevailed, and the harassed and dispirited troops, abandoned by their royal commander, exposed to the intense severity of the weather, the drifting snow, and heavy falls of sleet and rain, almost without clothing, frequently without sustenance, without medicines, without tents, littered down in cold and damp churches and other public buildings, expired daily and nightly by hundreds, the compassionate victims of a fatal and unparalleled delusion.

This last retreat was equivalent to a formal surrender of Holland into the hands of the French. In vain had the stadtholder endeavoured by manifestoes and proclamations to induce the Dutch nation to rise in a mass for the defence of their country. He who had long been the object of their hatred now became no less so of their contempt. Utrecht, Rotterdam, and Dort, surrendered to the French without resistance; and the stadtholder, with his family, not without difficulty, and attended by all the marks of popular resentment during his short abode at the Hague, made his escape in an open boat from Scheveling on the 19th of January. On the succeeding day general Pichegru, who had conducted himself with uniform mildness and moderation, made his public entry into Amsterdam; and, by order of the States-General, every other fortrefs in the republic

public opened its gates to the French. On the 27th of January the provisional representatives of the people of Holland assembled, and a decree immediately passed for the total abolition of the stadtholderate, and the establishment, under the protection of the republic of France, of a new provisional government for the United Provinces.—Such was the termination of this ever-memorable campaign, conceived on the part of the British ministry in the spirit of madness, and conducted in that of the most complete imbecillity.

The events of the war in which the Austrians and the auxiliary army of Prussians on the side of the Moselle were engaged, during these transactions in the Low Countries, are of little comparative moment.

At the latter end of May, the Prussian general Mullendorf, who was obliged to make some slight show of co-operation, surprized the French in their entrenchments at Keyserlautern, and defeated them with considerable loss. In the month of July the French in their turn, under the brave general-Defaix, attacked the Prussians, and carried, amid a terrible fire, the important posts occupied by prince Hohenloe on the Platoberg, a high mountain in the territory of Deux-Ponts. In a few days they repeated their attack upon the whole chain of
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posts from Neustadt to the Rhine with splendid success, and both Austrians and Prussians were obliged to retreat with the greatest precipitation. The Imperial army re-crossed the Rhine, and the Prussians retired towards Gunterbloom and Mentz. The recent acquisition of Keyserlautern was abandoned to the republicans, who again occupied the cities of Worms, Spire, and Treves: and this was the whole equivalent received from the king of Prussia in return for the enormous subsidy of two millions granted by the British parliament to that selfish, crafty, and unprincipled monarch.

On the side of Spain and Italy also the armies of the republic were eminently successful. In the beginning of February, 1794, a battle was fought near St. Jean de Luz, in which the French were conquerors. In the month of May another victory was gained near Ceret; and soon afterwards a third, of far more importance than the former two, over the principal Spanish army posted in the vicinity of Collioure, by general Dugommier, the whole of the baggage and artillery falling into the hands of the French. A column was ordered by the Convention to be erected in memory of this exploit. The cities of Urgel, St. Elmo, and Bellegarde, surrendered to the armies of France, conducted by the heroic Dugommier. The Spaniards

niards also, under their general, the count de l'Union, fought with great bravery, but were overpowered by superior skill and numbers. Soon after the capture of Bellegarde, general Dugommier obtained another signal victory, but was, at the close of it, unfortunately killed by the bursting of a shell. His death was avenged in a short time by the defeat and death of his gallant opponent, the count de l'Union. On the western side great advantages were gained by general Moncey, and the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian fell into the hands of the French, and a deep and dangerous impression was made upon the whole extent of the Pyrénéan frontier.

In Italy, to use the inflated style of M. Barrère, in his report to the Convention, victory was also in a state of permanence. The Piedmontese had, at the command of the Sardinian monarch, risen in a mass; but, being destitute of the enthusiasm of liberty, they constituted a body without a soul. The French forced the famous pass of Mount Cenis, took possession of the city and territory of Oneglia, and made themselves masters of a great part of the open country of Piedmont.

It is now time to avert our eyes from scenes of disaster and disgrace, and to take a concise view of the naval war, in which England maintained

tained in all parts of the world her great and wonted superiority. A very formidable armament, destined to act in the West Indies under the command of two most distinguished and gallant officers, sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis, rendezvoused early in the year in Carlisle-bay at Barbadoes, whence they sailed, on the 3d of February, to the attack of Martinico, which surrendered, after a resolute resistance of seven weeks. About the same period Cape Tiburon, and some other posts in St. Domingo, were reduced to submission by colonel Whitlock and commodore Ford. No sooner was the reduction of Martinico effected than the troops were re-embarked, and landed on the island of St. Lucia, which capitulated on the 4th of April; and upon the 11th of the same month the fleet and army arrived off Guadaloupe, which, after a short but brave defence, surrendered, with its dependencies, on the 20th. After these glorious successes sir Charles Grey returned to Martinico, leaving general Dundas, brother to the minister, an officer of distinguished merit, to command at Guadaloupe. The sequel of the history of this expedition is less flattering. General Dundas died of the fever incident to the climate at Guadaloupe, after a few days illness, early in June. This great loss was followed by other disastrous circumstances. A
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French squadron off the island, June the 5th, from which a body of troops landing under the command of the celebrated Victor Hugues, attacked Fort Fleur d'Epée, which they carried by storm; and the English retreated with considerable loss to Fort Louis. This also was soon evacuated; and the troops, shattered and disheartened, took refuge in Basse-terre. Sir Charles Grey, on the first intelligence of this attempt, sailed from St. Kitt's with all the force he could collect, and, landing on the island of Guadaloupe on the 19th of June, he made an attempt, July 2, on the post of Point-à-Petre; but fortune, upon this occasion, was not propitious, and the general was, after great efforts of valor, repulsed, with the loss of 600 men. After this the forces were re-embarked; and Basse-terre, after a long and vigorous resistance, with the whole island and its dependencies, again reverted to France.

The progress of the English arms in the Mediterranean, subsequent to the evacuation of Toulon, was also flattering. Early in the month of February, 1794, lord Hood proceeded for Corsica, which was in a state of revolt against the Convention, the insurgents being excited to this resistance by the English influence, under the conduct of their antient and popular chief, Paschal Paoli, who had been some years since

restored to his country with honor by the Constituent Assembly. Mortella, Tornelli, and St. Fiorenza, being successively surrendered or evacuated, the Corsicans who adhered to the French interest retreated to Bastia, which held out against the united efforts of the Anglo-Corsicans and English till the 24th of May, when it capitulated on honorable terms; and the whole island, excepting Calvi, which held out till August, submitted to the English. This appears to have been the favorite conquest of the war. Letters of convocation were forthwith issued for the Assembly of the General Consult to be held at Corte, the antient capital of Corsica, on Sunday the 8th of June 1794, of which general Paoli was elected president. The representatives of the Corsican nation immediately voted the union of Corsica with the British crown, and a constitutional act was framed extremely similar to the French model of 1791, which had been so lately branded by lord Aukland, ambassador at the Hague, as the work of miscreants, and the offspring of presumption and vanity. Sir Gilbert Elliot, representative of his Britannic majesty, formally accepted this act on his part, and immediately assumed the magnificent title of Viceroy. "Our minds have been prepared by PROVIDENCE," said his Excellency, "for the fate which awaited us. The event of this happy day

day is only the completion of wishes we had previously formed. To-day our hands are joined, but our hearts have long been united; and our motto should be—*Amici e non di ventura.*”

The most remarkable features of this democratic form of monarchy, which gratuitously granted more than had even been asked by the most daring reformers of Britain, were—the establishment of the right of universal suffrage—the dissolution of the legislative body at the end of two years—no senate or house of nobles—municipalities chosen by the people in every *pieve* or district; and, lastly, the unlimited right of toleration without tests or penal laws.

Far from admitting, as was formerly required of America, the unlimited and unconditional power of the British legislature to make laws for Corsica in all cases whatsoever, the Constitutional Act merely and coldly says, “That the parliament of Corsica will always manifest its readiness and deference to *adopt* all regulations, consistent with its present constitution, which shall be enacted by his majesty in his parliament of Great Britain for the extension and advantage of the external commerce of the empire and its dependencies;” which concession plainly amounted to an affirmation of the right of the Corsican parliament to reject such regulations as should not appear to them to have this tendency.

The inherent sovereignty of the people is not only implied in the formation of this constitution, by a national convention “possessed,” as the preamble of the act says, “of a specific authority for this purpose,” but expressly recognized; for the viceroy, in declaring his acceptance of it, “on the part of the sovereign king of Corsica, George III. king of Great Britain,” says, “If his majesty, therefore, accepts the crown, *which you have agreed to offer him*, it is because he is determined to protect, and never to enslave, those from whom he receives it; and, above all, because it is *given*, and not seized upon by violence.” Upon the whole, according to the ideas which Mr. Burke and the other virulent declaimers against the French constitution and the mode of its establishment had so long laboured to inculcate, this was a most Jacobinical transaction in all its relations. But men of a different stamp saw in it a noble, though unintentional, acknowledgment on the part of the British government that the principles on which the French revolution was originally founded were perfectly just; and that all the dreadful evils consequent upon it arose not from the principles themselves, but from the opposition made to their establishment. By this transaction another crown, such as it was, devolved upon the head of the king of Great Britain;

tain; but the advantage which the people of Britain were to reap from this sort of political connection with Corsica never having been explained, must for ever remain amongst the deep and inscrutable arcana of government.

In the month of May, the Brest fleet, amounting to twenty-six sail of the line, under the command of admiral Villaret, anxious for the fate of a large convoy from America, ventured to put to sea, though it was known that lord Howe, the British admiral, with a force equal, or superior, was cruising off the harbour to intercept it. Early on the 28th the fleets came in view; and, after some distant firings, the English admiral, having by his masterly manœuvres at length gained the weather-gage of the enemy, bore down upon them with full sail on the 1st of June. A close and desperate engagement ensued, in which the hostile fleets exhibited prodigies of valor. Several ships on both sides were dismasted; and the carnage, particularly on the part of the French, was dreadful. *Le Vengeur*, of seventy-four guns, went down during the action; and while the lower-deck ports were actually under water, and destruction inevitable, the air resounded with the cry of *VIVE LA REPUBLIQUE!* At length the French admiral, finding the contest too unequal, crowded off, and was followed by those of his ships

in a condition to carry sail. Of the others, six remained in possession of the British admiral, and were brought safe into Plymouth. The French were consoled in some degree for this humiliating defeat by the attainment of the object for which they risked the engagement: their American convoy, amounting to 160 sail, valued at five millions sterling, and conveying an immense quantity of provisions and naval stores, arrived safe in port a few days after the engagement.

During this summer wonderful changes took place in the interior state and government of France. No sooner had the republican party in 1792 accomplished the overthrow of the constitution than they became themselves divided into two opposite and inveterate factions, that of the Gironde and that of the Mountain. The latter had no sooner enjoyed a horrid and sanguinary triumph over their unfortunate opponents than a second division was observed; and the contest, equally violent with the former, now lay between the Jacobins and the Cordeliers. In the midst, however, of scenes of terror and of death, there are to be found some incidents which tend to soothe and soften the feelings of afflicted humanity. On the 3d of February 1794, three deputies from the island of St. Domingo, one of whom was a negro and
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the others gens-de-couleur, were received by the Convention as the representatives of the colony. On the succeeding day one of the deputies gave an affecting account of the troubles of this island; and they had no sooner concluded than La Croix eagerly moved the entire abolition of slavery within the dominions of France. The National Convention rose spontaneously to decree the proposition, and the men of colour were all adopted into the number of French citizens. Shortly after this the justly obnoxious decree of November 1792 was formally repealed.

At the head of the faction of the Cordeliers were Hebert, Ronfin, Anacharsis Clootz, styled the Apostle of Atheism, &c.—men who, to conciliate the populace, adopted the wildest theories, decried all religion, preached equality in the absurdest extent, and recommended publicly an agrarian law. In the beginning of March the Table of the Rights of Man, in the hall of the Cordeliers, was covered with a black crape; and Hebert, from the tribune of the society, affirmed that tyranny existed in the republic. This was sufficient to arouse the jealousy of Robespierre. On the 25th of March, these men, and many others of the same association, were arrested, and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and of course con-

demned to the guillotine. These executions were followed by those of Fabre d'Eglantine, Chabot, Bazire, Julien of Toulouse, Herault Sechelles, and other popular deputies of the Convention, on pretence of engaging in counter-revolutionary projects. But what excited still more amazement in the public was the arrest of Danton, Philippeaux, and Camille Desmoulins, &c. on the 31st of March. It is remarkable that St. Just, in the report presented on this occasion, makes the profession of atheism a principal charge against Fabre d'Eglantine. On the 2d of April, these persons, and many others their pretended accomplices, fell under the fatal axe of the guillotine. Danton was a man of great parts, and seems to have been regarded by Robespierre in the formidable light of a rival for power and superiority, which was, in the view of that execrable tyrant, the most heinous of all offences.

At this period it was decreed by the Convention that the remains of the famous Jean Jacques Rousseau should be deposited in the beautiful church of St. G  n  vieve, now styled the Pantheon. The president, upon this occasion, said, "That illustrious patriot had left excellent lessons to mankind, to love liberty, morality, and the Divinity. These lessons will for ever confound those false philosophers who
profess

profess neither to believe in a Providence nor in a Supreme Being—the only consolation of mankind in their last moments.”—Religion was now again the order of the day in the National Convention. The number of public executions, upon the most frivolous and wanton pretences, still continued, nevertheless, to be almost incredible. M. Palissot, a dramatic author who had many years before written a comedy in ridicule of Rousseau, was now destined to expiate this offence with his life. He wrote to the municipality an acknowledgment of his error, and of the merits of Rousseau: “Yet,” said he, “if Rousseau was a god, you ought not to sacrifice human victims to him.”—This striking expression produced its effect, and Palissot was released from his imprisonment.

In the month of May, the virtuous princess Elizabeth, sister of the late king, and his faithful companion under misfortune, was, without any shadow of pretext, brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and, after a few vague and insolent interrogatories, barbarously condemned to the sentence of the guillotine, which she suffered without betraying any other emotions than those of humble and pious resignation.

On the 30th of this month Barrère brought forward the infamous decree for allowing no quarter

quarter to the English or Hanoverian troops ; but the French officers and soldiery unanimously refused to carry this abominable mandate into execution.

No sooner had Robespierre reached the summit of power than the basis on which it stood seemed to totter under him. On the 10th of June, Bourdon de l'Oise, a member of the Conventional Assembly, had the courage to demand that the decree which affirmed the inviolability of the national representatives should be again established, and that no member should be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal but in consequence of a decree of accusation passed by the Assembly itself, instead of an order of the Committee of Safety, where Robespierre, and the vile instruments of his horrible tyranny, Couthon and St. Just, bore absolute sway. This was carried before the tyrant could recover from his surprize. From this time the party formed against him rapidly increased, and even his celebrated colleague, the artful, the penetrating, and insidious Barrère, took a secret, though efficient, part in plotting his overthrow.

The suspicions entertained by the tyrant of his danger appeared from the successive speeches which he pronounced at the Hall of the Jacobins at this period ; and one in particular, on the 16th of July, in which he declared that a
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counter-revolutionary committee actually existed in the republic. That he meditated the speedy destruction of all those whom he now regarded as his enemies was manifest; and it was rumored that he meant at the same time openly to assume the office of Dictator of the Republic. Whether he was aware that Barrère was of the number of his adversaries is doubtful. That extraordinary man made, on the 23d of July, a speech in the Convention, well calculated to lull him into a false security. "This government (said he) is odious on account of its energy. Let me conjure the Convention not to sleep on its victories, but to strike terror amongst the conspirators." On the 25th of July, Robespierre made an oration in the Convention, in which he plainly indicated his future project. "What a terrible use (said he) have our enemies made of a word which at Rome was applied only to a public function." The speech was heard with symptoms of contempt; many things in it contested; and it was evident that his influence in the Convention was lost. This was the critical moment. The armed force of Paris, under Henriot, was still at his devotion; but his resolution, and even his sagacity, seemed to fail him; his popularity was evidently declining, and the applauses of the galleries attended the speeches of his opponents, who, on their part,

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perceived that they had already gone too far to recede.

In the sitting of the 9th Thermidor (July 27) Billaud Varennes complained openly, "that the armed force of Paris was entrusted to parricidal hands. Henriot (said he) was denounced as the accomplice of Hebert. One man alone had the audacity to support him. Need I name him?—Robespierre." He then proceeded to recount with energy his acts of blood and oppression: and accused him, without reserve, of harbouring an infamous design of making himself dictator. "In order to effect his purpose (said this orator) he has resolved to mutilate the Convention, and to murder the representatives of the people." Robespierre here darted towards the tribune, while a number of voices exclaimed "Down with the tyrant! Down with the tyrant!" He was not suffered to speak in his defence; and Tallien rose "to congratulate the Convention that the veil was at length withdrawn, and the real conspirators unmasked. Every thing (said he) announces that the enemy of the nation is about to fall. In the house of that guilty man, who now stands humbled with the consciousness of detected crimes, and overwhelmed with that detestation which his infamous designs against liberty have so justly merited, were formed those lists of proscription which

which have stained with so much blood the altars of rising liberty. He copied the example of the detestable Sylla. His proscriptions were intended only to prepare the way for his own power and the establishment of a perpetual dictatorship.—Was it to subject ourselves to so abject and degrading a tyranny that we brought to the scaffold the last of the Capets, that we declared eternal war against kings, and swore to establish liberty as the price of life? No! the spirit of liberty has not sunk so low. I invoke the shade of the virtuous Brutus; like him I have a poniard to rid my country of the tyrant, if the Convention do not deliver him to the sword of justice. Let us, republicans, accuse him with the courage which springs from loyalty in the presence of the French people: and, as it is of the utmost importance that the chiefs of the armed force do no mischief, I move that Henriot and all his staff be arrested. I move that our sittings be permanent until the sword of the law has secured to us this revolution. I also move that ROBESPIERRE and his creatures be immediately arrested.” These motions were passed amid tumults of applause.—Barrère was now called upon to speak in the name of the Committee of Public Safety; and after proposing that the national guard resume its original organization, and that the mayor of
Paris

Paris be responsible for the safety of the national representation, he joined without reserve in the invectives against the fallen tyrant, who has had the art, said he, of wearing so many different masks; and, when he had no longer occasion for his creatures, has made no scruple to send them to the guillotine, as Camille Desmoulins, Bazire, Chabot, and others.—Robespierre, lost in amazement and consternation, submitted without farther resistance to the decree of the Convention, and was guarded by the proper officers to the prison of the Luxembourg; the governor of which, being one of his creatures, refused to receive him; upon which he was conducted to the Hotel-de-Ville.

In the mean time Henriot had found means to escape, and, with the activity inspired by desperation, rallied his adherents. Dividing his forces into three bodies, he attempted at once to attack the Hotel-de-Ville, the Committee of Public Safety, and the Convention. The representatives of the people shewed in this moment of danger much courage and presence of mind. No sooner were they apprized of the state of things than they declared Robespierre and his accomplices outlaws and traitors. Barras was appointed commander-in-chief: and a proclamation was issued, exhorting the people to assert their liberty and defend the National Convention.

tion. In consequence of these measures the troops of Henriot almost universally abandoned him ; and he himself, with the remainder, took possession of the Hotel-de-Ville. Here, at two hours after midnight, they were vigorously assaulted by a determined party of the conventional guard, headed by Bourdon de l'Oise and other commissioners of the Convention, who rushed boldly forward into the hall of the commune. The insurgents, after a short and fruitless resistance, attempted in the last agonies of their despair to turn their arms against themselves. Robespierre, already wounded in the side by a sabre, discharged a pistol in his mouth with no other effect than to shatter and disfigure his countenance. Le Bas shot himself dead upon the spot, and Couthon stabbed himself with a poniard. Henriot, while haranguing the populace from an upper window, was thrown down by their desire, and shockingly wounded by the violence of the fall. Robespierre and the rest of the criminals outlawed by the Convention were immediately conveyed to the Revolutionary Tribunal, merely for the purpose of identifying their persons; and then re-conveyed to the Palace of Justice, and that very evening, to the number of twenty-one, executed in the Place de la Révolution, amid the loudest and most universal acclamations of joy ever remembered.

bered. The eyes of the spectators were chiefly fixed upon Robespierre, Couthon, and Henriot, who exhibited a ghastly picture of blood, mingled with dust, and covered with wounds. Robespierre was executed last, but remained on the scaffold wholly speechless, and petrified with horror.

Such was the merited doom of a tyrant, destined, by universal consent, to be ranked in the black catalogue of the Neros, the Catalines, and the Borgias, whose names are held up from age to age to the eternal execration of mankind. Immediately after this great and happy event a very general alteration and melioration took place in the different branches of the provisional government of France. The Jacobine Club was entirely abolished, and the remains of the Gironde party, excluded and proscribed from the month of May 1793, to the number of seventy-one, were now restored to their seats in the Convention. Dumas, president of the horrid Revolutionary Tribunal, Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, Carrier, conventional commissioner in La Vendée, and various others of the same description, lost their lives most deservedly on the public scaffold. At the same time hundreds were released from the different state prisons, who, but for the late revolution, would probably have fallen victims to the Robespierrian tyranny ;

tyranny; and the infamous decree of the Convention, for refusing quarter to the English and Hanoverian soldiery, was formally rescinded. The insurgents of the departments of La Vendée and La Loire had never been completely subdued, and thousands were still sheltered in the natural recesses of that romantic country under their leaders Charette and Stofflet. A general amnesty, however, being now published, they almost universally laid down their arms, and submitted to the authority of the Convention. But it deserves remark, that, during the most critical periods of this unparalleled revolution, amid internal contention and convulsion, the Gallic like the Roman republic rose victorious over the world; and since the subversion of the ancient monarchy, the spirit of atheism and anarchy had uniformly triumphed over that of superstition and despotism.

The miscellaneous events of the year in Britain still remain to be related. In the month of April Mr. Jay, chief-justice of the United States of America, arrived in London, as minister plenipotentiary, to adjust the existing differences between that republic and the British government. His reception was at the first cool and revolting; but in proportion as the allied armies receded, it was remarked that the negotiation with America advanced. The general

state of things in England was at this period so truly unpleasant, and the differences which prevailed in politics under the present administration entered so deeply into private and social life, and were so subversive of its comforts, that great numbers of families of the old Whig stamp, whose ancestors had been most warmly attached to the principles of the revolution, and to the Hanoverian succession, now sought refuge in the bosom of the American republic. Amongst other emigrants of this description was the celebrated Dr. Priestley, who had been driven from his philosophical retirement in the centre of the kingdom by the mad outrages of a barbarous populace, excited and encouraged by persons, however exalted above them in rank, scarcely less barbarous than they. A Chatham, a Lansdown, or a Fox, would have paid just reverence to the virtues and talents of this illustrious character; whose zeal, as a theologian, for the diffusion of his peculiar tenets, was both natural and laudable. If his opinions were erroneous, argument might be opposed by argument, and the cause of truth would be eventually the gainer. But, under the administration of Mr. Pitt, bigotry and malignity advanced with an accelerated progress, and every species of improvement, moral, intellectual, or political, seemed gradually to become
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the object first of cold indifference to this insidious statesman, then of dislike, and at length of fear, of hatred, and of horror. "Friends of the miserable," says a writer of sensibility and genius*, "you who presented Mr. Pitt with your confidence, because you expected he would realize your humane wishes, refer the influence this man has exerted upon his age to the standard of your feelings, and in his actions try if you can discover not the habit, but a few casual fallies of goodness." When such a man bore sway it cannot be a matter of wonder that the persecuted and oppressed should be ardently desirous to withdraw far beyond the sphere of his baleful influence; though this could not in the nature of things be effected without making great and mournful sacrifices. It is true that philosophy, though it cannot and ought not to destroy the finer feelings of human nature,—nay, though it adds to their force and fervor, affords consolations in adversity, which, to gross and vulgar minds, must remain for ever unknown. "A wise man," says a celebrated writer, who was, at the time he penned these beautiful reflections, an exile from his native land, "looks upon himself as a citizen of the world; and when you ask him where his coun-

* "Essay on the public Merits of Mr. Pitt," by Dr. BEDDOES.

try lies, points, like Anaxagoras, with his finger to the heavens.—Let us march therefore intrepid wherever we are led by the course of human accidents. On what coast soever we are thrown by them we shall not find ourselves absolute strangers. We shall meet with beings endowed with the same faculties, and subject to the same laws of nature. We shall see the same virtues and vices varied in a thousand different modes. We shall feel the same revolution of the seasons, and the same sun and moon will guide the course of the year. The same azure vault, bespangled with stars, will be spread over our heads; and whilst our minds are occupied with high and philosophical contemplations, it imports us little what ground we may happen to tread upon *.”

BOLINGBROKE's *Letters on History*, vol. ii. p. 246.

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* The language and sentiments of the bigots who pretend to candor are well described by the celebrated Wieland in his Tract on Liberty of Reasoning. “ We wish not to tyrannize over consciences; you are at liberty to believe what you can, only get out from among us; lay down your offices; give up your incomes; quit your habitations; forsake your country; renounce your whole civil existence. Go and look out for a place in the sandy wilds of Africa, or in the desolated islands of the Southern Ocean, where you may philosophize and be hungry as much as you please.”

Although the general reception which Dr. Priestley met with in America was such as his high character so justly merited, he soon had occasion to see and feel that bigotry and malevolence

The persons who in the month of May had been committed to prison, on the charge of a democratic conspiracy to overturn the government, were kept in close confinement the whole of the summer. It also happened that two men, Watt and Downie, on grounds totally different, were brought to trial in Scotland for high-treason at this juncture; and this incident might be regarded as the prologue to the fearful and bloody tragedy which it was in contemplation of the administration to perform in England; and their conviction might be supposed to have a powerful effect on the minds of the English juries. Watt was a spy employed by government, of a character infamously profligate; and he was instructed to enter himself as a member of the popular societies, in order to detect their secret machinations, and to give information against them whenever called upon. It appears from the trial that he deemed his

malevolence were not confined to England. In a letter from Mr. Jefferson, dated Jan. 18, 1800, that distinguished statesman and patriot thus expresses himself. "How deeply have I been chagrined at the persecutions which fanaticism and monarchy have excited against you even here. I regretted that your friend, before he had fixed a choice of position, did not visit the valleys on each side the Blue Ridge in Virginia.—You would have found there equal soil, the finest climate and most healthy on the earth, the homage of universal reverence and love, and the power of the country spread over you as a shield."

services not sufficiently rewarded by government, and that he went so far beyond his commission as to propose, in all appearance seriously, treasonable designs,—such as seizing the castle of Edinburgh, the public bank, and the persons of the judges, &c.—to some of his associates, who positively rejected to adopt any measures for the attainment of their purposes “which might disturb the public peace, or shed the blood of their countrymen.” This informer, being himself informed against, was apprehended and tried for this offence; and though he alleged with plausibility that he had spoken and acted with no other view than to discover the secret purposes of those whose conduct he was ordered to observe, the proofs against him were such as to induce the jury to return without hesitation a verdict of guilty, and he was soon after executed;—this government spy being the only man convicted and punished for the crime he was employed to detect. The second delinquent, Downie, was a weak illiterate mechanic, who had been foolish and culpable enough to listen in stupid silence, and probably astonishment, to the wild suggestions of Watt, without any active concurrence whatever. The jury found him also guilty, although the offence could amount to no more than misprision of treason; but they thought proper to recommend

mend him to mercy, and he afterwards received a pardon from the king.

While this matter still continued to agitate in some degree the public mind, another subject of alarm arose, and a dreadful rumor was on a sudden raised of an attempt to assassinate the king. The persons implicated in this charge were one Le Maitre, apprentice to a watchmaker in Denmark-street, William Higgins, apprentice to a chemist in Fleet-street, and a man of the name of Smith, who kept a book-stall in the vicinity of Lincoln's-inn. Their accuser was one Upton, also an apprentice or journeyman to a watchmaker. The conspirators were apprehended, by a warrant from the duke of Portland, on the 27th of September, and underwent several examinations before the privy-council. It was deposed by the informer, Upton, that an instrument was to have been constructed in the form of a walking-stick, in which was to have been inserted a brass tube, through which a poisoned dart was to have been *blown*, at some convenient opportunity, by the villain Le Maitre, at his majesty; but when or where was not determined upon. This marvellous story, more fit for the Arabian Tales than serious history, *seemed* for a time to be credited by the ministry, and the persons accused were committed for trial; but, after a long and severe

imprisonment, the evidence against them was found so inconsistent, absurd, and incredible, that the whole affair fell into contempt, and the men were, without any trial, declared innocent of the charge, and set at liberty.

Under the first impression made by this ridiculous fable, the special commission of Oyer and Terminer, issued for the trial of the state prisoners confined in the Tower of London on a charge of high-treason, was opened at the Sessions-House, Clerkenwell, by the president, lord chief-justice Eyre, in an elaborate charge to the grand jury, which, in the course of their proceedings, found a bill of indictment against Thomas Hardy, John Thelwall, John Horne Tooke, and ten other persons,—John Holcroft, one of the number, who, by concealment, had escaped the previous tedium of confinement, voluntarily surrendering himself in court upon the occasion; and on the 25th of the same month they were arraigned before the Special Commission at the Old-Bailey. The members of the jury sworn to try the general issue of this memorable cause were not only very zealous friends of the government, but adherents of the administration, and most of them members of the loyal associations in and near London; but, through the admirable precautions of the law, they were also men impartial, intelligent,

telligent, and of characters highly respectable. The indictment was of uncommon length, and contained no less than nine overt-acts of high-treason, all resolvable into the general charge, that these persons did conspire to summon delegates to a national convention with a view to subvert the government of the country and to *levy war* against the king.

By a long-established construction of law, the *attempt* to levy war against the government, or, in other words, any conspiracy against the government, is no less high-treason than the *actual* levying of war, which is declared to be treason by the original statute of Edward III. because it is, by no very harsh interpretation, presumed to involve in it a design against the life of the king, necessarily endangered by such an attempt, and which is also declared to be treason by the express words of that famous statute. The real crime, therefore, divested of the technical phraseology of the law, charged upon these people, was their conspiring to employ means of coercion and force against the government in order to accomplish its absolute subversion, or at least to effect a material change and alteration in it. The attorney-general, sir John Scott, spoke no less than nine hours in confirmation of the accusation, and with the view of proving the overt-acts charged against them

them in the indictment, which consisted merely in a tedious recapitulation of the whole proceedings of the two associations, which had been long known to the nation at large, and were publicly advertised in the common newspapers. These proceedings, from their palpable want of decorum, temper, and judgment, had excited the extreme disapprobation of all intelligent persons, and of none more than the advocates of liberal and rational reform; but that they amounted to the crime of high-treason was an idea too extravagant to enter into the head of any man but that of an apostate patriot or a court-lawyer.

Thomas Hardy, shoemaker, the formidable chief of this pretended conspiracy, was the first person brought to the bar; and against him was the elaborate oration of the attorney-general primarily levelled: but happily for the prisoner, and eventually for the public, Mr. Erskine, so long the ornament of his profession, who was retained as counsel for Hardy, employed his great talents and brilliant eloquence with the most complete success in his defence, and that of his colleagues and associates, from the charge in question. “The transactions (Mr. Erskine remarked) which constituted the body of the proof were not the peculiar transactions of the prisoner, but of immense bodies of the king’s subjects

subjects in various parts of the kingdom, assembled without the smallest reserve, and giving to the public, through the channel of the daily prints, a minute and regular journal of their proceedings. Not a syllable had we now heard that we had not been acquainted with for weeks and months before the prosecution was commenced."

The principal witnesses against the prisoner were two infamous wretches, spies of government, of the names of Taylor and Gosling. These vile instruments of corruption enumerated several instances of rash and inflammatory expressions, not personally affecting the prisoner Hardy, used at different meetings of the popular societies, which might, no doubt, come under the vague and general idea of sedition; but of any formed design of subverting the government, or of using any species of force or coercion respecting it, there existed no shadow of evidence. These democratic and overheated partizans of reform undoubtedly flattered themselves, that, in consequence of the weight which a petition from the national assembly, or convention of delegates, as they affected to style it—and which could be no other than a general committee deputed from the friends of reform in different parts of the kingdom, without the least pretence to exercise legal authority

authority or jurisdiction—would carry with it, the legislature would become convinced of the political expediency and necessity of acceding to their prayer: and certainly the sense of the nation must be, in some mode or other, very forcibly expressed, before the parliament will, or indeed ought, to hazard so great, though probably so beneficial, a change. The legality of such a delegation as that in contemplation had never been questioned; on the contrary, it was justified by recent precedents both in England and Ireland; but to dream of opposing the authority of this conventional committee, without arms, without money, without the support of any persons more eminent than Thomas Hardy, shoemaker, John Thelwall, itinerant lecturer, Thomas Holcroft, comedian, &c. would have been the extremity, not of political criminality merely, but of folly, and even of madness. The grand object at which these associations aimed was unquestionably to effect a reform in parliament upon the visionary, if not pernicious, principles of the duke of Richmond,—universal suffrage and annual election. It is true that these associations contained a considerable proportion of concealed republicans, converts to the novel and extravagant doctrines of Paine; and there can be no doubt but that these people hoped, and perhaps, in
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the height of their enthusiasm, believed, that a radical reform in parliament, upon democratic principles, would eventually lead to the establishment of a democratic government; but this did not amount to treason, or even sedition, or to any offence against the existing laws at all. Certainly, under the most severe control of the most despotic government, men cannot be amenable to punishment for hoping and believing. As it was, however, well known that these associations were infected with the leaven of republicanism, it became government to keep a watchful eye upon their proceedings, to check their licentiousness, and, by a timely interposition, to curb their insolence long before they had reached the limits of high-treason; and their rash and seditious conduct, if the grossest disrespect and the most vulgar and virulent abuse of government deserves the name of sedition, laid them sufficiently open to legal animadversion: but to accuse them of the crime of treason was to confound things the most easy to distinguish and the most important to be distinguished, and tended to excite a powerful interest in the breasts of all sober and dispassionate persons in favour of men the tenor of whose public proceedings they had previously and highly disapproved. Had the ministry succeeded in this infamous prosecution,—which no
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attorney-general, however respectable his private character, or whatever plea he might set up of professional duty, could engage in without incurring eternal disgrace,—had they once dipped their hands in blood, they would most surely have gone on in the same sanguinary course till the whole land had become an ACELDAMA—a scene of carnage and desolation.

A miserably feeble attempt was made on the part of the crown-lawyers to prove that the associations in question had armed themselves against the government; whereas, on examination, it appeared merely that a few pikes had been procured, to defend themselves, in case of necessity, against the attacks of the mob at Sheffield and other populous places where they held their meetings. The Corresponding Society had applied to Mr. Francis to present their petition to parliament in the course of the preceding year; and that gentleman proved in evidence, that upon this occasion Mr. Hardy, secretary to the association, had voluntarily offered to come forward and produce all the books and papers of the society, to evince that there was nothing seditious in their conduct, and that their object was purely a parliamentary reform. The trial was protracted to the unprecedented and monstrous length of seven days; and, the evidence being closed, the jury, after
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a short deliberation, brought in their unanimous verdict of NOT GUILTY—a verdict than which none ever pronounced in an English court of justice gave more exquisite satisfaction or was more extensively important in its consequences. Notwithstanding the numerous errors, obliquities, and corruptions, which pervaded almost every part of the legislative and executive branches of government, it was perceived with transport that the fountain of criminal justice still retained all its original purity. The surrounding populace could not be prevented from attending *Citizen Hardy*, whose conduct had been throughout firm and tranquil, and the counsellors Erskine and Gibbs, to their respective houses, amid the loudest acclamations of applause.

After an interval of eleven days—no doubt days of chagrin and perplexity on the part of the ministry—was brought to the bar of this high court of justice the celebrated John Horne Tooke, formerly and for many years a priest of the church of England—a man possessed of extraordinary intellectual talents, but of a peculiar kind, and blended with a considerable alloy of eccentricity. Of obscure and nameless origin, he suddenly appeared in the political world as an extravagant and erring spirit burst from its confine. He first distinguished himself as a violent
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lent partizan of Mr. Wilkes, at the time of the famous Middlesex contest—being then curate of Brentford, where the election was held. Such was the enthusiastic ardor of his patriotic zeal at this early period of his life, that, to preserve the liberties of his country inviolate, he publicly declared his readiness to dye his black coat red. He possessed no mean degree of learning and knowledge, and his powers of elocution and self-possession were very uncommon. His habitual influence over the wills and passions of those with whom he was connected indicated a mind of great energy. On some occasions he exhibited himself to the judicious part of the public as a sincere and enlightened champion of the liberties of the people, and on others as an artful and aspiring demagogue. This singular man had the presumption, at the last general election, to offer himself as a candidate for the city of Westminster—pretending to be offended at the virtual compromise which had taken place between the court and country parties in the persons of lord Hood and Mr. Fox. On the eventual failure of his hopes (although he polled a very great number of votes) he presented a petition to the house of commons against the return, drawn in the most audacious terms of political invective and reproach, but containing also much indisputable
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and melancholy truth. This petition, being referred, in the usual mode, to a committee, was declared frivolous and vexatious; but by a wise policy, too frequently and fatally departed from in matters of higher moment, no farther notice whatever was taken of it by the house.

On this trial of Mr. Tooke, it appeared, to the general surprize, that this gentleman, supposed so vehemently democratic, had been a remarkably guarded and temperate advocate of reform—that he very rarely attended the meetings of the societies—and had even incurred their suspicion and dislike on this account. He had frequently declared his attachment to the house of peers as an useful and necessary branch of the constitution; and he had uniformly reprobated the duke of Richmond's plan of universal suffrage. In a conversation with major Cartwright on the subject of reform, Mr. Tooke had made use of the following familiar but expressive illustration:—"You would go to Windsor, but I should choose to stop at Hounslow."—The most extraordinary circumstance attending this trial was the examination of the duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt, who were subpœna'd as witnesses by Mr. Tooke. The former was interrogated merely as to the authenticity of his famous letter to colonel Sharman, in order to shew that, as to the matter of

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reform, the corresponding and constitutional societies did not extend their ideas farther than one of his majesty's cabinet-ministers ; and the latter to prove that the mode of conducting the business was similar to that adopted by Mr. Pitt and the reformers of 1780. On this occasion the unparalleled meanness and baseness of Mr. Pitt's disposition displayed itself in the most conspicuous manner. To a variety of very material questions relative to the Westminster convention in that and the following years he was *speechless*, being seized with a total want of recollection. With great difficulty, however, he at length was brought to recollect a meeting at the Thatched-House Tavern, in May 1782. Mr. Tooke asked him what that meeting was but a convention of delegates from different great towns and counties, sent by committees of those towns and counties, of England? He said he did not recollect how that meeting was composed.—Mr. Tooke then asked whether he did not recollect that it had been objected in the house of commons, respecting the petition actually presented, that it came from persons in a delegated capacity? He said he had no recollection of any such thing. Mr. Sheridan, being immediately afterwards examined, gave a perfectly clear and accurate account of the proceedings of that æra. He had met Mr.

Tooke

Tooke in 1780 at a convention, or meeting of delegates, from different parts, who were to consider the best means of procuring a parliamentary reform, and to act for those who deputed them. He was himself a delegate for Westminster. The matter, he said, was notorious. Mr. Sheridan enumerated the places where these meetings were held—mentioning, in particular, Guildhall, the Thatched-House Tavern, and the duke of Richmond's at Privy-Garden. Here Mr. Pitt begged leave to correct his evidence, and confessed that he was present at some meetings in Privy-Garden, where there were delegates from different counties;—*i. e.* he confessed that he was himself chargeable with the very same act for which, now he had abandoned the cause of parliamentary reform, he was engaged in a most profligate and murderous attempt to exterminate those by the sword of justice who still adhered to it under all difficulties and discouragements. —The jury retired for a few minutes only previous to their returning a verdict of NOT GUILTY. An involuntary burst of acclamation filled the court, which was instantly re-echoed by the populace without, who, as on the former occasion, escorted the counsel to their chambers.

A feeble attempt was made to prosecute this infamous business by proceeding to the trial of

John Thelwall—a man whose general character was to the last degree contemptible, but against whom nothing was proved excepting some intemperate expressions at the famous popular meeting at Chalk-Farm, and in his lecture-room, which were supported only by the testimony of the spies, Lynam and Taylor, whose evidence was afterwards rendered nugatory, or worse, by that of two other witnesses. The jury, without hesitation, brought in a verdict of NOT GUILTY.

The conduct of the cabinet-ministers in this extraordinary business—their mode of investigating the transactions of the associations in question, and of securing the requisite evidence of the several witnesses for the crown in these successive trials—was such as fully to justify the memorable observation of Dr. Swift, who says, “that those diligent enquiries into remote and problematical guilt, with a new power of enforcing them by chains and dungeons to every person whose face a minister thinks fit to dislike, are not only opposite to that maxim which declareth it better that ten guilty men should escape than one innocent suffer, but likewise leave a gate wide open to the whole tribe of informers, the most accursed, prostitute, and abandoned race that God ever permitted to plague mankind.”

Considering the state of parties in the kingdom
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dom at this time, the acquittal of these persons excited a much more general sensation of satisfaction than might previously have been expected. The truth is, that the selfish as well as the generous feelings were interested on this occasion; and, in the course of his pleadings, Mr. Erskine very happily quoted a remark of the celebrated Dr. Johnson on the acquittal of lord George Gordon:—"I am glad he was not convicted of this constructive treason; for, though I hate him, I love my country, and I love myself." Of all the wicked inventions of lawyers, the doctrine of constructive treason, by which unwary people may be convicted of a capital offence while unconscious of the violation of any law, is perhaps the worst. But Mr. Erskine, on this momentous occasion, spoke like a man inspired, and at once redeemed the honor of his profession, and established the safety of his country. Had the men arraigned upon such an accusation*, supported by such evidence, been capi-

* The writer of this History has been at much pains to ascertain the intrinsic validity of the charge against these societies; not whether there was *legal evidence* of their intention when assembled in convention—such as had already been actually and harmlessly held both in Ireland and England—to usurp the powers of government; for it is clear as the noon-day sun there was not; but whether any such secret design really existed in *any* individuals, *not proveable* by the establish-

capitally convicted, and the sentence been carried into execution, it would most unquestionably have been an horrible murder, perpetrated in the forms and under the pretext of law. But the very supposition is a libel upon the glorious institution of JURIES.

In the autumn of this year arrived in England, from his celebrated embassy to the court of Pekin, lord Macartney. The principal object of his mission was to conclude a commercial treaty with the government of China, and to obtain, if possible, an extension of privileges for the English merchants; more particularly to procure permission to land their commodities at some port nearer to the capital than Canton. The ambassador took his departure from England, at the latter end of September 1792, in the *Lion* man of war of 64 guns, and in the month of July following he reached Jangang-foe-Bay in the Yellow Sea, which washes the north-eastern coast of China, whence the ambassador and his train were conveyed up the

ed rules of evidence. But even of this he has not been able to discover the slightest ground of suspicion or shadow of presumption: on the contrary, all circumstances concur to the forming of an opposite conclusion; though at a subsequent period, inflamed by the spirit of revenge, some of the members of these associations may, with too much probability, be supposed to have engaged in machinations highly dangerous and criminal.

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great river Tyensing to the city of the same name, in junks or barges, under the escort of a mandarin guard, who were watchful to prevent the least communication with the inhabitants, pitching their tents at night exactly opposite the spot where the junks lay at anchor. On the 11th of August they arrived at Tyensing, where they received refreshments and presents, of no great value, on the part of the emperor, the famous Kien Long, who had already governed that vast empire with uninterrupted success and reputation more than half a century. From Tyensing they still proceeded in their voyage up the river to the city of Tong-tchew, within twelve miles of Pekin. After a short interval of rest at Tong-tchew, the ambassador and his secretary, sir George Stanton, set out in palanquins provided for the purpose, which conveyed them to the metropolis—the train following in covered carriages. The emperor being at this season of the year usually resident at Jehol, his summer-palace in Tartary, beyond the great wall, orders were sent that the ambassador should proceed thither. On the 7th of September he arrived at Jehol; and on the 14th his excellency was honored with his first audience of the emperor, at five o'clock in the morning. The ambassador had brought with him from England the most splendid and costly presents which were

ever offered by one monarch to the acceptance of another ; but it was observable that they were received with marked indifference, or rather haughtiness ; and care had been taken to paint in large Chinese characters, upon the flags pendent from the yachts and land-carriages, ‘ AMBASSADOR bearing TRIBUTE from the Country of ENGLAND.’ And although the emperor himself behaved with decorum and politeness to the ambassador, he would enter into no treaty, he would grant no new privileges ; and well aware, as was plainly intimated, of the nature and extent of the usurpations of England in Hindostan, he would not suffer the king of Great Britain to set his cloven foot beyond the narrow spell-bound circle of Canton.

Early in the month of October the emperor and his court, attended by the ambassador and his train, returned to Peking, within a very short time subsequent to which his excellency had his last audience of his imperial majesty, who delivered to him a letter, in answer to that from the king of England, and also a POEM of his own composing, inclosed in a roll covered with yellow silk. This was accompanied with several chests of presents ; and the ambassador, who had made great preparations for passing the winter in Peking, was officially apprized that this was the signal of departure. On the 9th of
October

October his excellency and his suite left Peking with some precipitation, and proceeded to Tongtchew, whence they were conveyed in junks, as before, through the interior of that immense empire, by a variety of rivers and canals from the northern to the southern extremity of China, reaching Canton in perfect safety, after a variety of amusing adventures, Dec. 18, 1793, and in January following they embarked at Macao for England.

The information which the secretary to the embassy, in a narrative of this romantic expedition published by authority, has given us of the state of the Chinese empire is extremely curious and interesting. A few particulars will not probably be deemed too wide a digression from the more proper subjects of the present history. It is remarked by the intelligent author, Sir George Stanton, that regions out of Asia are scarcely referred to in the books of the Chinese, or noticed in their maps. The celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, visited the court of Peking in the thirteenth century. He makes no mention of the Chinese wall, but it appears that he entered China on the side of Thibet, passing through the provinces Shensee and Shansee. The present Tartar dynasty had continued, in 1793, during a course of four reigns, 149 years. Every square mile in China contains,
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upon an average, upwards of 300 inhabitants, in all 335 millions, in the fifteen provinces of China Proper, and exclusive of the Tartarian and Thibet territories beyond the great wall. —There are nine orders of mandarins; but the office is not hereditary, and the only public or personal distinction is that of being employed in the public service; and knowledge and virtue alone qualify for public employments.—When the mandarins, accompanying the embassy, were told that in England a child might claim, in virtue of his birth, the highest offices and dignities of the state, they could not sufficiently express their astonishment, and intimated that this was a matter unfit to be repeated to the emperor. From the entrance of the embassy into China not one person in the guise of a beggar had been seen, or any one observed to solicit charity. In the intervals of military service the soldiers assume the common habit of the people, and are occupied in manufactures or the cultivation of land.—The government of China does not interfere with mere opinions. There is in China no state religion. None is paid, preferred, or encouraged by it. The emperor is of one faith, many of the mandarins of another, and the majority of the common people of a third, which is that of Fo. The possessions of the father are equally divided amongst all the sons;

sons; and the antient public law of the empire is founded on the broadest basis of universal justice. The examinations in the public seminaries or schools of students for degrees are always public. Oral questions are put, and others in writing, to the candidates. The honors conferred upon those who succeed become the ascending steps which lead to all the offices and dignities of the state. A method of advancement so open to all classes of men tends to reconcile them to the power, from attaining which no individual is precluded. In these trials wealth must yield to talents and genius. The number of manufacturers bears but a very small proportion to that of husbandmen in China. Few parks or pleasure-grounds are to be seen. There are no commons or lands suffered to lie waste by the neglect or caprice or for the sport of great proprietors. Every large or ornamental building was found upon enquiry to be destined for some public use, or for the habitation of a man in office.—In seasons of calamity the emperor of China always comes forward: He orders the granaries to be opened: He remits the customary taxes to those who are visited by misfortune: He affords assistance to enable them to retrieve their affairs: He appears to his subjects as almost standing in the place of a tutelary divinity. In all public labors there appeared a
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promptitude and cheerfulness of obedience, which argued a confidential expectation of an adequate recompence. The execution of criminals, convicted of capital offences, takes place in one day with circumstances of peculiar solemnity; the usages of the empire, requiring the emperor formally to consult the mandarins of his council upon each case separately, in order to know whether he can with safety to the state avert the sentence.

SUCH are the customs, observances, and institutions of a stupendous empire, far exceeding in riches and population all the kingdoms of Europe; and which has been, from the earliest periods of history, celebrated for the profound wisdom of its government, and for that which is the necessary consequence of this wisdom—the unexampled prosperity of the people.

The British settlements in India enjoyed at this period a profound repose under the wise and equitable government of sir John Shore, successor to earl Cornwallis. The most remarkable occurrence of the present year in Bengal was the death (April 27, 1794) of sir William Jones, who had been appointed, March 1783, a judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature in India on the recall of sir Elijah Impey; as if it were determined by this choice to rescue the English name and character from reproach, and to manifest,

nifest, by way of contrast, how high public and private virtue could ascend. Sir William Jones had long been celebrated, as the wonder of the present age, for the profundity and universality of his attainments. As a linguist he was equally familiar with the modern and the antient, the occidental and the oriental, languages. As a writer and professor of jurisprudence he was not merely versed in the laws and usages of his native country, but deeply skilled in the Roman and Grecian, the Hindoo and Mahometan systems. He was at once a mathematician, a poet, and an historian. He excelled in musical, in chymical, and in botanical pursuits; and his attainments in every one of these different objects of research were such as might justify the supposition that he had made the study of it the great object of his life. Yet was that life circumscribed by the comparatively short term of forty-seven years. To his great and unrivalled intellectual accomplishments he added the highest moral excellence; and no greater or juster eulogium could be pronounced upon him, than that his virtues were equal to his talents. Europe and Asia acknowledged his worth, and mourned his loss. “Of the ability and conscientious integrity with which he exercised the functions of a magistrate in India (lord Teignmouth, late sir John Shore, assures us the public voice
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and public regret bore ample and merited testimony. The same penetration which marked his scientific researches distinguished his legal investigations and decisions, and his oratory was as captivating as his arguments were convincing*." While yet on his voyage to India, he formed the plan of an institution for the purpose of investigating the history and antiquities, arts, science, and literature, of India. 'It gave me,' to use his own words in the preliminary discourse addressed to the members of the association, 'one evening, on inspecting the map, inexpressible pleasure to find myself in a noble amphitheatre, almost encircled by the vast regions of Asia, the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government. I could not help remarking how important and extensive a field was yet unexplored, and how many solid advantages unimproved.'—"Let us lament (says lord Teignmouth) that the spirit which dictated those learned and interesting dissertations, which form so large and valuable a portion of the records of our researches, is extinct, and that the voice to which we listened with improve-

* Address to the Society for Asiatic Researches.

ment and rapture will be heard by us no more."

In order to complete the political portrait of the present period, it is necessary to advert to the state of affairs in the continental kingdoms not actually engaged in the confederacy against France.

The celebrated diet of Grodno, by which the second partition of Poland was indignantly ratified, terminated in extreme confusion after the coercive abolition of the constitution of 1791, and the re-establishment of that which preceded in 1772. At the beginning of the year 1794, baron d'Ingelstroph, who had succeeded the count de Sievres as ambassador at Warsaw, demanded the erasure of every record and the surrender of every paper relative to the late constitution, which was passively submitted to. This act of humiliation only increased the insolence of the conquerors, whose oppression and outrages grew daily more insufferable. The court of Russia at length issued its mandate for the reduction of the military force of Poland to 16,000 men. This was positively refused by several of the veteran regiments, particularly in that part of the kingdom bordering upon the metropolis, where general Madalinski appeared at the head of a great body of insurgents, who had resolved not to lay down their arms. The

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Russian ambassador was instructed to deliver to the permanent executive council an official document, requesting, or rather commanding, the Polish government to dispatch an army to oppose Madalinski, and likewise to take into custody every suspected person. The first of these demands was evaded ; and to the latter it was replied, that no Polish nobleman could be arrested before conviction. Early in the month of February (1794) appeared in the field the celebrated Kosciuszko, who had already distinguished himself by his gallantry in America and his patriotism in Poland. After obtaining several advantages over the Prussians in their newly-acquired territories, he advanced towards Cracow, which was abandoned to him by the Russians in garrison there on the 24th of March. He then assembled the nobility and principal inhabitants at the Town-Hall, and was formally invested with the title of General amid loud acclamations ; after which he issued a proclamation inviting the nation, in the most energetic terms, to shake off their fetters, and to unite in forming a new confederation ; and a solemn oath was taken by all present to maintain the constitution of 1791. In the mean time Warsaw was in a state of high fermentation. The king, broken down by age, affliction, and infirmity, and wholly incapable of those exer-

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exertions which corresponded with his situation and character, had the weakness to issue a proclamation exhorting his subjects to lay down their arms, instead of putting himself at their head; and rendered himself both odious and contemptible by accepting of a Russian guard for the protection of his person.

In the beginning of April general Kosciusko began his march from Cracow to Warsaw, with an army composed of such regular troops as he could collect, and reinforced by some thousand peasants armed with pikes. On the road he fell in with a strong corps of Russians, detached by baron d'Ingelstrohm from Warsaw, to regain possession of Cracow. A fierce encounter ensued, and the Russians were in the end totally routed with great slaughter—the Polish peasantry, in their fury, giving no quarter to the enemy. The inhabitants of Warsaw now arose, and drove out the Russian garrison after an obstinate resistance. Kosciusko took immediate possession of the capital; in consequence of which the king, yielding passively to the course of events, and without being animated by a single spark of heroism or patriotism, declared himself head of the confederation. Addresses of congratulation were now presented from all quarters, and every-where appeared symptoms of martial ardor—near 70,000 men, exclusive

of peasantry, being, as was calculated, in arms before the end of May. But this force was dispersed in different bodies throughout the wide extent of Poland and Lithuania; and the vast armies of the powers allied for their destruction were advancing upon them with rapid steps on either side. In this emergency no chance of ultimate success could possibly remain but in the adoption of the daring and decisive measure of summoning a national convention, and of establishing a new constitution founded upon the broadest basis of democracy,—a constitution in the preservation of which every individual would have felt himself deeply and permanently interested—a constitution which, as in France, would have excited the genuine spirit of republican enthusiasm, which would have converted Poland, like France, into an armed nation, and have infused into the breasts of all the heroic the determined resolution to conquer or to die. But to a grand and glorious effort like this the genius and talents of Kosciuszko did not appear equal: on the contrary, a proclamation was published, stating, “That as the Polish insurrection took place upon principles essentially different from those prevailing in France, it should be differently conducted; and that the king,” whose timidity and duplicity had rendered him justly despicable in the eyes
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of all, "should be treated with the deference and regard due to his rank." It is difficult to conceive whose favour Kosciusko could hope to conciliate by this tame and disgusting declaration. Had America, France, and it may be added England, hesitated in similar circumstances to proceed to the deposition of their respective sovereigns, the revolutions effected in these several countries would have borne for ever the appellation of treason and rebellion. The original principles of the French revolution were no other than the genuine and immutable principles of liberty; and although these principles were doubtless more liable to abuse under a democratic than a mixed form of government, it was by the establishment of a pure democracy only that, in Poland, the mass of the people, stupified by oppression, could be awakened to a just sense of their inherent rights, or inspired with the invincible resolution essential to the defence of them. From the publication of the proclamation in question, persons of discernment augured the speedy and melancholy termination of this unequal contest.

A Prussian army, under general Elsnor, marched to the attack of Cracow, which surrendered at discretion on the 15th of June. Nearly at the same time his Prussian majesty advanced towards the city of Warsaw, defended by Kos-

ciusko in person with such skill and courage that the Prussians were compelled, after a blockade and siege of two months, to retreat with loss and disgrace to the frontiers of Silesia. The Russians, in the mean time, were gradually making progress on the side of Lithuania; and on the 18th of September, in a general engagement near Brzesc, defeated the insurgents, whom they obliged to retreat across the Bug. The invaders, now under the command of general Suwarrow, the bloody and barbarous conqueror of Ismail, marched forwards in full confidence of victory to Warsaw, designing in their way to form a junction with the detached corps of general Ferfen. With a view to prevent this junction, Kosciusko, at the head of his brave Poles, on the 10th of October attacked Ferfen with undaunted intrepidity. The courage displayed by the Russians was not inferior, and they had the advantages of superior numbers and discipline. After a conflict of five hours the Poles were totally overpowered; and Kosciusko himself, having received a dangerous wound, was obliged to surrender. The fate of Poland was instantly decided. The generals Ferfen and Suwarrow, after effecting their proposed junction, proceeded to Warsaw, defended by Madalinski and other brave officers—a formidable line of batteries being opposed

posed to the enemy. But the ferocious Suwarrow was not to be intimidated by any obstacles, and he immediately ordered his soldiers to mount to the assault in the same manner as at Ismail, using only the sabre and bayonet. After a severe contest of eight hours all resistance on the part of the Poles ceased, and the carnage was converted into a massacre. But the most remarkable circumstance in the conduct of this horrid business is, that nearly ten hours after the Russians, apparently fatiated with blood and slaughter, had rested upon their arms, the carnage and pillage of this devoted city commenced anew. The beautiful suburb of Praga was set on fire, and vast numbers not only of men, but of women and children, perished in the flames or by the sword. One of the chiefs of the insurrection remaining, count Potocki, was now deputed to general Suwarrow, to implore the mercy of that merciless barbarian, who received his application with extreme haughtiness, observing that a treaty was unnecessary, that the empress was not at war with the republic, and that his commission was merely to reduce the rebellious subjects of Poland to obedience. He however deigned at length to grant to the prayer of Potocki the lives and properties of the wretched remainder of the inhabitants. But even in this extreme

exigency some high-minded patriots refused to take any part in this capitulation; amongst the rest general Wawrzecki, governor of the city, whom Suwarrow nevertheless received with unexpected marks of civility, ordering his sword to be returned to him; but the haughty Pole refused to accept the proffered boon, saying, "That his sword was become useless, since he had no longer a country to defend."

On the 9th of November, the Russian commander made his triumphal entry into Warsaw, traversing that dreadful scene of desolation and destruction in profound and terrific silence. Having made a solitude, he called it peace. That the impiety of this transaction might keep pace with the barbarity of it, a solemn *Te Deum* was celebrated on the 1st of December, for the success of the imperial arms of Russia, and the offerings of guilt were presented on altars polluted by profaneness, and red with human gore. The Polish chiefs, Kosciuszko, Potocki, &c. were sent, under a strong military escort, to Petersburg, and thrown into dungeons; and the unhappy monarch himself was ordered to repair first to Grodno, and then to Petersburg, where, in a short time, he died, without exciting, after the high hopes on very slender grounds conceived of him in the commencement of his reign, the slightest either of esteem

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or regret *. A third and final partition of the unfortunate kingdom of Poland, after a short interval, took place, conformably to a new convention between the crowns of Russia and Prussia, to which Austria acceded ; and the very name of Poland was from this time blotted out from the map of Europe. Such were the exploits performed on the eastern side of Christendom by the high and very dear allies of England, jointly engaged with her in a confederacy which had for its professed object the restoration of religion, of social order, and regular government—exploits which infinitely exceeded in atrocity and barbarity any crimes which, surrounded as she was with enemies, and irritated by every species of provocation, had been in the very crisis of her revolution perpetrated by the atheists and anarchists of France.

The crowns of Sweden and Denmark still persevered in their wise determination of observing a perfect impartiality during the present war ; and in the course of this year (March 27, 1794) a convention was concluded between them, by which they agreed to protect the freedom of commerce in the Baltic on the principles of the armed neutrality of 1780, by

* Stanislaus Poniatowski, late king of Poland and grand-duke of Lithuania, died at Petersburg, February 12, 1798.

equipping jointly a fleet of sixteen ships of the line, in equal proportions, for that service ; and by the tenth article the Balt. is declared to be a neutral sea, absolutely and altogether inaccessible to the armed ships of the different and distant powers at war.

The prudence and circumspection of the American government could not prevent those distant states from being involved in the troubles which so violently agitated the European kingdoms. General Washington, president of the Union, in his speech to both houses of congress, December 3, 1793, urged upon them the necessity of placing the country in a condition of complete self-defence. " The United States," said this truly great man, " ought not to indulge a persuasion that, contrary to the order of human events, they will for ever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult we must be able to repel it. If we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war."

These expressions, though they bore relation
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also to England and Spain, were understood to be chiefly pointed against the government of France, whose ambassador, citizen Genet, a hot-headed zealot of Jacobinism, and one Duplaine, received in the capacity of vice-consul of France, had conducted themselves with extreme disrespect and indecorum to the executive power; infomuch, that the president had thought it necessary to publish letters-patent, declaring, that he no longer recognized Duplaine as sustaining any official character. Upon which Genet wrote in a most insolent style to Mr. Jefferson, secretary of state, protesting against the validity of this dismissal, and alleging that the constitution of the United States has not given the president the right which he assumed. "If," said this great diplomatic luminary, "it is an act merely arbitrary, it is amongst the class of acts of aggression, and becomes a cause of war. I do not recollect what the worm-eaten writings of Grotius, Puffendorf, or Vattel, say on the subject; I thank God I have forgotten what these hired jurisprudists have written upon the rights of nations at a period when all were enchained."

On the 5th of December the president sent a message to the two houses, containing a formal complaint of the behaviour of the French minister, but at the same time acknowledging, in
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very explicit terms, the friendly attachment manifested by the French republic in the general tenor of its conduct towards America—"that they had given advantages to the commerce and navigation of the United States, and made overtures for placing those advantages on permanent ground; and he expressed his firm conviction that the government of France will not suffer them to remain long exposed to the insults of a person who has so little respected the mutual dispositions of the two nations." He takes notice, however, of the seizures of American vessels with enemy's goods on board, both by the French and English, in violation of what he apprehended to be the true principles of neutrality; and that representations had been made to the belligerent powers to obtain redress for the past, and more effectual provisions against the future. Also, that on the subjects of mutual interest between America and Spain, negotiations and conferences were at that time depending.

The outrages nevertheless committed by the British armed vessels and cruizers on the American traders, in consequence of the famous order of council dated November 1793, were so enormous, the encroachments made by the governments of Canada upon the American territory were so flagrant, and the indisposition of
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the court of London to deliver up the forts upon the great lakes, conformably to the treaty of 1783, was so openly manifested, that the president, in a message to congress, dated April 16, 1794, declared to the American legislature, that the aspect of their affairs with Great Britain was very serious ; and he at the same time communicated to them the appointment of Mr. Jay, who held the high office of chief justice of the United States, as envoy extraordinary to his Britannic majesty. “ A mission like this,” said the president, “ while it corresponds with the solemnity of the occasion, will announce to the world a solicitude for a friendly adjustment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hostility.”

Several circumstances at this period concurred to excite the strongest suspicions in the minds of the Americans of the evil designs of the British court, which, with impotent malignity, resented the good understanding uniformly kept up by the republic of America with the republic of France, notwithstanding the occasional abuses and excesses of the French government. In a TALK or conference held by lord Dorchester, late sir Guy Carleton, with the Indian chiefs of Lower Canada in February 1794, the governor declared, that he should not be surprized if the king their father were to
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be at war with the people of the United States before the end of the year.—“ You are witnesses, children, (said he, to the chieftains) that on our part we have acted in the most peaceable manner, and borne the language of the United States with patience ; and, I believe, our patience is almost exhausted.”—An insurrection having broken out in the western territory in consequence of the recent introduction of the excise laws among that rude people, the insurgents threatened, that if the tax in question was not repealed, they would place themselves under the protection of Great Britain. In the course of the summer they were, however, reduced to submission. With a view, as it appeared, to co-operate with these insurgents, the Indian nations to the northward made a desperate incursion into the western territory. General Wayne, being sent with an armed force to repel this attack about the middle of August, penetrated to the Miami river, on the banks of which, to his utter surprize, he discovered a fort erected and garrisoned by the British settlers of Detroit and Canadian militia ; and under the cannon of this fort the Indians routed and pursued by Wayne fought and found refuge. Major Campbell, governor of the fort, wrote to general Wayne to know the cause of his hostile approach to a garrison appertaining

to his Britannic majesty. The American general in reply, asserted, "that he knew of no act of hostility excepting that committed by the major in erecting a fortification within the acknowledged boundary of the United States, which he summoned him forthwith to surrender, and withdraw within the limits of the British territory. Major Campbell, with laudable discretion, informed general Wayne, "that being a military officer merely he had no authority to enter into any discussion of right, but that he was confident the difference would be amicably adjusted between their several governments;" and on this assurance general Wayne, with equal moderation, drew off his troops.

In the southern colonies also the American government had strong ground to suspect that the Creek and Seneca Indians had been tampered with by the British agents, to engage in a war against the Americans; but all these causes of difference were referred to the well-known address and management of Mr. Jay.

Nearly at the same time the president nominated, as minister-plenipotentiary to the French government, Mr. James Monroe, a man of a cool and dispassionate temper, of excellent parts, and a sincere friend to the cause of Gallic as well as of American liberty. He arrived at Paris immediately after the fall of the Robespierrian

spierrian faction, and at his first audience (August 15, 1794) he was received with the most cordial tokens of esteem and affection. “The French people,” said the president of the Convention, in his answer to the speech of Mr. Monroe, “have not forgotten, that it is to the Americans they owe the beginning of liberty. It was by admiring the sublime insurrection of the American people against Albion, once so proud, now so degraded,—it was by taking arms themselves to second the courageous efforts of that insurrection,—it was by cementing the independence of America with the blood of their bravest warriors, that the French people learned to break the sceptre of tyranny in their turn, and to erect the statue of Liberty on the ruins of a throne founded on fourteen centuries of corruption and crimes.”

BOOK XV.

Wonderful Acquisitions of France during the War. Session of Parliament, 1795. King's Speech holds out bold and fallacious Hopes of Success. Dejection of Mr. Wilberforce, and other Partizans of the Ministry, from the System of the Court. Causes of the National Delusion. Suspension of the Habeas-Corpus Act renewed. Loan granted to the Emperor. Statement of the National Finances. Motion of Mr. Grey respecting Peace—Insidiously counteracted by Mr. Pitt. Similar Motion of the Duke of Bedford—Rejected by the Peers. Resolutions moved by Mr. Grey and the Duke of Bedford also negatived. Motion by Mr. Fox to inquire into the State of the Nation evaded. Motions respecting the Recall of Lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland negatived. Pacific Motion by Mr. Wilberforce negatived. Marriage Establishment of the Prince of Wales. Motion for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade rejected. Acquittal of Mr. Hastings. Termination of the Session. Proceedings of the Irish Parliament—Appointment of Earl Camden to the Government—Catholic-Emancipation Bill rejected—Distracted State of the Country. Military Transactions. Shattered Remains of the Duke of York's Army embarked for England. Peace between France and Prussia—Also between France and Spain. Surrender of Luxemburg. Indecisive Operations on the Rhine. Naval Engagement off the Coast of Corsica. Skillful Retreat of Admiral Cornwallis. French Squadron defeated by Lord Bridport. The Islands of St. Eustatius and St. Lucia recovered by the French. War against the Maroons in Jamaica. Cape of
Good

Good Hope captured by the English. State of Affairs in France. Revengeful Proceedings of the Gironde Faction. Disastrous Expedition to La Vendée. Death of the Dauphin. New Constitution of France. Dissolution of the Convention. Treaty of Commerce signed between Great Britain and America. Defensive Treaty between Great Britain and Russia. Session of Parliament held in Corsica. Petitions from the Cities of London, York, Norwich, &c. against the War. Disturbances in the City of Westminster. Pop-Gun Plot revived. Popular Meetings attended by vast Multitudes at Chalk-Farm, &c.

AT the conclusion of the year 1794, the French, after repelling with heroic courage the early attack of the allied powers upon their northern frontier, found themselves in the possession of the whole of Flanders and Brabant. The Austrians were driven by them, with dreadful slaughter, across the Meuse, and the English and Dutch beyond the Waal; and they only waited for the setting-in of the frost, to pass the great rivers into the territory of the United Provinces. On the side of Germany they had conquered the three ecclesiastical electorates of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne; the principality of Liege; the duchies of Cleves, Juliers, and Deux-Ponts; the bishoprics of Spire and Worms; the far greater part of the dominions of the elector-palatine; and, in general, all the Hither Germany bounded by the Rhine. On the

the side of Italy they occupied the duchy of Savoy and a great part of Piedmont, the city and county of Nice, and the principality of Monaco. On that of Spain, the greater part of the frontier provinces of Biscay and Catalonia, with their ports, cities, magazines, arsenals, and founderies. The Spanish armies had been defeated in many bloody successive contests; no military force could now be collected in any degree competent to encounter the republican troops in the field; and the Catholic king, trembling upon his throne, seemed already to anticipate the horrors of an approaching revolution. The territories subdued by the arms of the republic were computed to contain thirteen millions of inhabitants: and in twenty-seven pitched battles, besides an innumerable multitude of inferior actions, they had slain 80,000 of their enemies, and taken more than 90,000 prisoners; also immense quantities of ammunition and stores, with 3,800 pieces of cannon.

On the 30th of December, 1794, the parliament of Great Britain was convened, when the monarch, whose natural beneficence of disposition and undeviating rectitude of intention were rendered wholly unavailing by the evil counsels of men, untaught by experience, and now grown obstinate in error, hesitated not to inform the two houses, "that, notwithstanding the disappointments and reverses which the allied arms had

experienced in the course of the last campaign, he retained a firm conviction of the necessity of persisting in a vigorous prosecution of the just and necessary war in which the nation was engaged."—By way of encouragement to his faithful parliament, nevertheless, his majesty was pleased to remark, "that, in considering the situation of their enemies, they would not fail to observe that the efforts which had led to their successes, and the unexampled means by which alone those efforts could have been supported, have produced among themselves the pernicious effects which were to be expected; and that every thing which had passed in the interior of the country had shown the progressive and rapid decay of their resources, and the instability of every part of that violent and unnatural system, which is equally ruinous to France and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations."—His majesty farther declared, "that he should omit no opportunity of concerting the operations of the next campaign with such of the powers of Europe as were impressed with the same sense of the necessity of vigor and exertion. He mentioned his acceptance of the crown and sovereignty of Corsica; he announced to them the happy event of the marriage of his son, the prince of Wales, with the princess Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunswic; and he concluded with expressing

pressing his *confident* hope, that, under the *protection* of PROVIDENCE, and with constancy and perseverance on our part, the principles of *social order*, of *morality* and *religion*, would ultimately be successful; and that his *faithful people* would be rewarded for their present exertions and sacrifices by *the deliverance of Europe* from the greatest danger with which it had been threatened since the establishment of civilized society."

Addresses being brought forward, in the usual style of complaisance, an amendment was proposed in the house of peers by the earl of Guildford, who, at the close of a speech of excellent sense and sound reasoning, moved "that his majesty be requested and advised by that house to take the earliest means of securing a peace, and that no obstacle might arise from the nature of the French government. Holland (his lordship affirmed) could only be saved by a peace: and he urged the impracticability of attaining what appeared to be the present object of the war, the dictating of a government to France. In military operations, and in political negotiations, the ministry had equally failed; and, as he had never been satisfied of the wisdom of entering into the war, he could not now admit the necessity of persevering in it."—The marquis of Lansdown declared, "that he could see no difficulty in treating with France

at the present period, and adverted with contempt to the old and hacknied objection that there was no power existing there to treat with. When persons wanted to make up a quarrel, when there was a sincere desire for reconciliation on both sides, the means of effecting it would always be found. France, amidst all its change of parties, had not falsified its engagements, since the revolution, with any foreign state." The amendment was, after a spirited debate, rejected by a majority of 107 to 12 voices only.

The debate on the same subject, in the house of commons, excited still more of the public attention. No sooner was the address read, than Mr. Wilberforce, an intimate friend of the minister, and who had hitherto warmly supported him in all his measures, rose and objected to it, as pledging the house to prosecute the war till there was a counter-revolution in France. He observed, "that there was nothing in his majesty's speech in the least pacificatory; although the Jacobine system, so hostile to this country, was destroyed, and there appeared an assumption at least of moderation on the part of the new rulers of that country. The confederacy against France also was now dissolved, and her internal disorders appeased. How then could we conquer a people who had resisted with such success,

cess, when assailed by the combined force of Europe from without, and when distracted with insurrections from within? The retrospect of our affairs was bad, but the prospect before us was still worse. Like the waves of the ocean, the armies of France seem rapidly overthrowing every thing that stands in their way. Regardless of slighter differences, they look merely to the Convention, and thought themselves bound to adhere to what they perceived would alone keep the country together. This circumstance it was which had first staggered his opinion with relation to the probability of ultimate success in this contest. He was well aware of the impossibility of forcing a government upon France, when France was united in opinion and in act; and he scrupled not to add, that, though a friend to monarchy, he did not think that a monarchy would be the fittest form of government for France, in present circumstances; as the current of prejudice set so strongly against it.—Mr. Wilberforce said, he did not think the country would be at all debased by a declaration for peace. True magnanimity consisted in acting with propriety under every circumstance, resolutely determining to change the mode of conduct whenever it is required by an alteration in the state of affairs. Those who thought it so easy to effect a counter-revolution in France

should recollect that revolutionary principles had now been six years prevalent in that country, and that a new generation was rising up who had been educated in and familiarized to them. Equitable proposals for a negotiation would at all events be beneficial to this kingdom. If rejected, every person would unite with government in carrying on with vigor what would then be a just and necessary war." Mr. Wilberforce concluded a speech, candid from its acknowledgment of error, and impressive because it applied itself to the common sense and common feelings of his auditors, with moving an amendment to the address similar in purport to that of the earl of Guildford. In these sentiments he was supported very strongly by several most respectable independent members of the house, who had hitherto voted with administration. Mr. Bankes said, "the expectation of overturning the French republic was, in his opinion, absurd; and if we were not to treat with France till the overthrow of that kind of government, the war might continue for ever."—Sir Richard Hill strongly recommended peace; or, if that were unattainable, at least the withdrawal of our troops from the continent. The object of the continental war had been stated in one word—SECURITY. If it were asked what had we gained by that war, short

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as had been the period of its duration, it might be answered in one word—RUIN.”

Mr. Pitt arose in visible emotion to vindicate the language and sentiments contained in the address; and, in the course of a florid and plausible speech, put in practice all his insidious arts to make the worse appear the better reason, and thus, at the critical moment of resolve, to perplex and dash maturest counsels. “His majesty’s speech,” Mr. Pitt affirmed, “did not pledge the house never to make peace with the republican government of France, though he had no idea of a *secure peace* till the return of the monarchy*, which he thought the best form of government for all the nations of Europe. The change which had taken place in France was a change not in substance, but merely in name. Peace, could it be attained, would not place us in a situation of confidence. We must on the contrary increase our precautions. Hostilities would begin again in a short time, and as soon as France saw our military force diminished; and we should be again opposed to

* From the æra of the Revolution of 1688, in England, to the year 1783, being a period of 95 years, the two nations of Great Britain and France had been in a state of war no less than 40 of them. What therefore, it may be permitted to ask, according to Mr. Pitt’s rules of political calculation, constituted that superior security for the continuance of peace under a monarchy rather than a republic?

an enemy who might have found it as difficult to disband his armies as we should to obtain fresh forces. Even if disposed to peace, their rulers would be compelled by fear to give them new employment. If we dissolved the continental confederacy, we could not again hope to see it restored; we should then be exposed alone to the fury of France. Ought we to leave the AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS in possession of the French? The safety of the Dutch depended upon our continuance of the war."

Mr. Pitt traversed once more the old road of argument, declamation, and invective, with his accustomed power of language; but fearing, no doubt, that the efficacy of this political *charlatanisme* might be impaired by too frequent use, he took at the close of his speech, in a great measure, new ground; and ventured roundly to assert, that, notwithstanding the extensive conquests of France, she had suffered more in permanent value and present means than the losses of all the allies united together. The resources of the French, the means of their immense pecuniary expenditure, were requisition and arrest of property. Such a system could only be produced by despotism, and supported by terror. The expenditure of the French had, he said, since the revolution, amounted to 320 millions. Was it then likely she should see this country first exhausted? This expenditure

expenditure they had been enabled to bear only by the creation of unlimited paper credit. But all the debates of the Convention proved that they could not increase the emission of this paper without ruin. Mr. Pitt recapitulated the proceedings of the French, respecting finance, to shew that they could not maintain their assignats without contracting their expenses and diminishing their forces. To press them now with vigor would compel them to issue more assignats, and thus rapidly exhaust their means and accelerate their ruin, which Mr. Pitt predicted to be imminent and inevitable ;—and, in fact, they were already, as he affirmed, not only on the verge, but in the GULF OF BANKRUPTCY. The house divided at four o'clock in the morning, for the amendment 75, against it 246.

Great as the influence of the crown may be supposed in the house of commons, it is impossible to attribute the vast majorities of the present minister, particularly since the commencement of the war with France, to the operation of that influence merely. Eloquence, that fatal talent when misapplied, will of itself produce mighty effects: and it must be remarked, that the eloquence of Mr. Pitt has ever been exerted in unison with the rooted prejudices of the house and of the nation, and in no one instance has it ever been employed
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to counteract a popular error. Hatred to France is a political chord, which vibrates to every touch; and when that master-passion is, by the force of imagination, connected with a reverence to religion, respect to morals, to social order, to regular government, and, in a word, to all the ties which unite the different classes of men in the bonds of civilization and humanity, it must require comparatively small skill to guide and direct the effects of it. The generous solicitude which transiently shewed itself for the success of the French nation, in their efforts to establish a free constitution, was suddenly and totally absorbed in the horror excited by their subsequent enormities, without sufficiently considering the provocations which gave rise to them, or, what was of still greater moment, that a whole nation ought not to be execrated for the offences of comparatively a few individuals. What are usually styled the crimes of France are, in deed and in truth, for the most part, only her misfortunes and calamities; and they are no doubt as much the subject of abhorrence and detestation with the great mass of the people in that country as in this. Is it possible to prefer anarchy to tranquillity, oppression to protection, or malevolence to benignity? So long as the passions of that high-spirited nation are inflamed and exasperated by opposition,

sition, so long will they be more or less chargeable with excesses moral and political—so long will they remain strangers to the countless and invaluable blessings of liberty: for genuine liberty can in no clime, age, or country, ever be separated from the control of law,—liberty itself being the law of reason, of justice, and of humanity. And, “Oh LAW!” understood in this its best and highest sense, to use the sublime language of a justly-admired writer, “no less can be said than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage,—the very least as feeling her care, the greatest as not exempted from her power. Both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all, with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy*.”

That the general intentions of the British nation, or even of the British legislature, have been upon the whole otherwise than just, is a supposition improbable and injurious. But when the power of eloquence, combined with the seductions of interest and the suggestions of prejudice, is calmly considered, it cannot be a subject of wonder that few minds are found of firmness sufficient to withstand the

* HOOKER'S Ecclesiastical Polity, book 1. conclusion.

force of the association. As to the grand consideration on which Mr. Pitt now professed to rest his hopes of restoring monarchy in France, which was in this debate, for the first time, avowed to be, if not an absolute *sine-qua-non* of peace, one grand object of the war, it was evident that the minister, if sincere, had been grossly duped and deceived by the fallacious reasonings of certain French emigrants, ignorant or interested, who had published various tracts upon the subject of the French finances;—such as one D'Ivernois, created Sir Francis D'Ivernois, a dealer wholesale and retail in ridiculous paradoxes; and M. Mallet du Pan, an ingenious but enthusiastic writer;—neglecting the salutary but unpleasant warnings and admonitions of the celebrated M. de Calonne, formerly comptroller-general of the finances in France, who, in a most able pamphlet, entitled *The Political State of Europe*, published at this time, expressly says—“I do repeat, and continually shall repeat, that whatever causes would reduce a regularly governed state to the last period of its military exertions would by no means produce the same effects on a revolutionary government, possessing all the existing means and resources of the country. To reduce *them* to the last extremity, there must be no land, no productions, no labourers, no soldiers; in short, no resources

resources of any kind in the whole extent of the territory. To rely on the increase of the public misery in France, and to expect general tranquillity as the result of it, is as if nations had formerly thought themselves secure from the devastations of the Huns, Goths, and Vandals, because those hordes of barbarians had neither money nor credit, order or discipline."

On the 25th of January (1795) the attorney-general moved for a renewal of the suspension of the Habeas-Corpus Act, in direct opposition to the recorded verdicts of three successive juries that no treasonable conspiracy existed. This gave rise to a violent debate. Mr. Lambton, member for Durham, declared, that though a confiding parliament had last session given credit to his assertions, and suspended the Habeas-Corpus Act upon the strength of them, the persons accused of treason had been acquitted, not merely upon principles of law but of common sense. The evidence had totally failed on the part of the crown lawyers; and their own witnesses had disproved their case. He wished to know on what pretence ministers wanted a renewal of the bill, and demanded some information respecting these hidden conspiracies.

"Quis? Quid? Ubi? Quibus auxiliis? Cur? Quomodo?
Quando?"

Mr.

Mr. Hardinge, a court lawyer on the other side, strongly contended for the existence of a conspiracy, though no conspirators had yet been found whom the law had been able to reach. The late verdict of the juries would of itself encourage those who had embarked in those wicked counsels. He affirmed that it was no *common treason* that lay before them—it was not English but French treason, and proved by a mass of evidence, which, though it could not effect conviction in the courts of law, well warranted the passing of the Suspension Bill. Mr. Erskine remarked, that it was beyond his ability to comprehend how there could exist a conspiracy without conspirators. A conspiracy in the abstract might indeed be supposed without known or detected conspirators; but the authors of this pretended plot had been known by government, and by the public at large, for two years, and been prosecuted without effect—and the verdicts of three juries completely negatived the conspiracy. But *king's friends*, he feared, would never be quiet, till they had destroyed all kingly governments. Every loss of power and affection had uniformly arisen from their pernicious counsels.—On the division, at a very late hour, the numbers were 230 to 53; and the bill being transmitted to the lords, passed there by a similar majority, but accompanied by

a vigorous protest signed by the dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, and the earls of Lauderdale and Guildford.

On the 4th of February Mr. Pitt delivered to the house of commons a message from his majesty, intimating that a loan would be wanting to aid the exertions of the emperor during the next campaign, on the credit of his hereditary dominions, which would probably require the guarantee of the British government. In the subsequent discussion of this topic, Mr. Sheridan expressed a wish to obtain some positive security from his imperial majesty that those exertions should be made which were the conditions of the loan ; and in order to awaken the sense of honor in the Austrian ministry, he thought it might be of importance to come to some resolve, expressive of indignation and contempt, with respect to the flagrant violation of faith, on the part of his Prussian majesty ; and he then moved a resolution to that effect. Mr. Pitt allowed that the country had just cause of dissatisfaction in relation to the king of Prussia, but thought the motion inexpedient, and the house passed to the order of the day. Mr. Pitt then made a florid harangue, enumerating the many and great advantages England might expect to reap from so powerful a co-operation as the loan in question would enable the court of Vienna

Vienna to make. An argument indeed had been adduced against this measure, which, if carried to its extent, would end in the annihilation of every system of alliance. But were we never to enter into a treaty with any monarch because one had broken his faith? It was the interest of the emperor to fulfil his engagements, and pride and honor called upon him to exert himself with effect. Comparing the sum, 4,600,000*l.* with the assistance required, it was purchasing that assistance very reasonably; and even if the whole weight of this burden fell upon us, it would not be wise or politic to suffer the defection of Austria from the confederacy. Mr. Pitt urged the advantageous terms of this loan, which, for every 300*l.* actually advanced, offered a debenture of 400*l.* upon the Bank of Vienna, *and the emperor might be sued in his own courts!*

Mr. Fox denied that it was the interest of the emperor to continue the war, and mentioned the wretched state of the imperial finances, and the utter inability of the emperor, as was notorious from the attempts already made on the English Exchange, to raise this loan without the guarantee of England, by which we made the debt our own; and it was easy to foresee that every shilling advanced would be irrecoverably lost. He therefore objected to
this

this mode of affording assistance, as much worse than that of a subsidy payable at stated periods, and over which we should therefore retain some control.—But the address, as moved by Mr. Pitt, in answer to the royal message, passed by a very great majority.

On the 23d of February Mr. Pitt came forward with his annual statement of supplies, ways, and means. One hundred thousand seamen and a hundred and fifty thousand landmen, including militia, were voted for the service of the year. The loan proposed was eighteen millions, the largest ever voted by parliament, for which an equal capital in the three-percents. and six millions in the four-per cents. were created, and about one-half per cent. long annuity: and sixteen hundred thousand pounds in new taxes of various kinds were proposed, all of which passed with trifling opposition; and the whole expense of the war, which had as yet lasted two years only, was moderately computed, including the unfunded debt, at fifty millions; *i. e.* as much as the aggregate expenditure of the ten-years' glorious war of queen Anne, in the course of which the Low Countries were conquered for the house of Austria, the empire saved, and France itself attacked and invaded on every side. But now how great the contrast! The Low Countries for ever lost,

Holland invaded, and neither disposed nor able to resist,—an English army, commanded by a prince of the blood, flying before the French, and driven to take refuge on board their ships,—Spain, Italy, and Germany, successfully attacked by the arms of France,—and Prussia, after receiving immense sums from England, basely abandoning the confederacy she herself had first suggested and formed, in violation of her most solemn engagements:—and, what was infinitely the worst of all, a parliament, not possessing a spark of the old English spirit, lost to every sense of national honor, sunk into a state of stupefaction, obstinately and idiotically confiding in a minister whose visionary plans and projects had been every-where defeated, and whose predictions had been uniformly falsified—a minister evidently destitute of the talents necessary for carrying on any war but the WAR OF WORDS—a bullying, boasting, Bobadil statesman!

Various efforts were made, very early in the present session, to induce parliament to come to some general resolution which might render it necessary for the executive government to set on foot a negotiation for peace. On the 26th of January Mr. Grey moved, “That it is the opinion of this house that the existence of the present government of France ought not to be considered as precluding at this time a negotiation

tiation of peace." This resolution, Mr. Grey shewed, " was highly requisite, in order to prove to the French that the present war was not regarded by the legislature as a war *usque ad internecionem*, however it might be represented by individuals; and averred that it was not his intention to propose any thing incompatible with any former vote, address, or resolution, of the house." This motion was so seasonable and popular, and the impression made upon the house by the late speech of Mr. Wilberforce was such, that Mr. Pitt could not venture to put a direct negative upon it; he therefore evaded the proposition by moving the following insidious amendment:—" That, under the present circumstances, this house feels itself called upon to declare its determination firmly and steadily to support his majesty in the vigorous prosecution of the present just and necessary war, as affording at this time the only reasonable expectation of permanent security and peace to this country; and that, for the attainment of these objects, this house relies with equal confidence on his majesty's intention to employ vigorously the force and resources of the country in support of its essential interests, and on the desire uniformly manifested by his majesty to effect a pacification on just and honorable grounds with any government in France, under whatever

form, which shall appear capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other countries." Mr. Pitt declared this amendment to be consonant to the terms of his majesty's former declarations ; and he contended that every nation at war with another ought not to treat for peace with a government that could not give security. He was therefore not ready to treat with the present government of France ; and he took upon him to affirm, that, since the commencement of the present war, there existed not in that country a government capable of maintaining with other nations the accustomed relations he had stated—*not recollecting*, doubtless, that France had actually maintained, during the whole period of the war, the relations of peace and amity with Denmark, Sweden, and America. The commerce and agriculture of France were represented by Mr. Pitt as in a most disastrous situation—their financial resources as in a rapid state of decay—justice almost unknown—and, with respect to religion, he asked, would the house willingly treat with a nation of atheists?—The revolutionary system was not essentially varied since the late changes : he would not, however, say that they might not improve, but that time had not arrived : when it did, if they gave to their government that stability and authority which
afforded

afforded grounds of moral probability that we might treat for peace with security, then we might negotiate ; but we ought in prudence to wait the return of such circumstances as would afford us a probability of treating with success.

Mr. Wilberforce remarked “ that on one point the house appeared perfectly agreed—the propriety of declaring the republican form of government no bar to negotiation. He thought the terms of the amendment not sufficiently explicit : it proposed relying on the dispositions always manifested by his majesty of effecting a pacification, whereas it did not appear to be fact that his majesty had always made a clear manifestation of such a disposition. The declaration of our allies gave the French reason to believe that the restoration of the antient government was in contemplation. In our present situation we had only a choice of evils ; and such a peace as could be made with the present government of France was a less evil than continuing the war on the principles by which it had hitherto been directed, and far more so than such a peace as we might ultimately be obliged to accept. There were (he said) various modes by which nations placed in the relation of England and France might treat without humiliation on either side. England, (he observed, upon the authority of Mr. Hume) had too

great a propensity to war, and was too pertinacious in continuing it."

Mr. Fox appealed to the house "Whether it was to be expected that the French would be the first to negotiate after the declarations made against them by ministers. What (he asked) would have been the feelings of Englishmen if the Convention had determined never to treat with them till there was a reform in the English government?—We must (said this great statesman) do away all our arrogant expressions against France; and then, even though we should not be able to obtain peace, yet we should take from them the cause of their enthusiasm, that which roused every rational feeling, and had carried them to unparalleled exertions."—The original motion of Mr. Grey was at length negatived, and the amendment of Mr. Pitt adopted, by the accustomed majority.

A similar motion was brought forward in the house of peers by the duke of Bedford, on the following day, seconded by the duke of Norfolk, which was superseded by an amendment copied from that of Mr. Pitt by lord Grenville, who declared his belief that a majority of the French were favorers of royalty, and that the re-establishment of monarchy presented the most probable hopes of peace.—The amendment was opposed in a speech of great energy and eloquence

quence by the celebrated Watson, bishop of Landaff. This prelate said, "that he could not, without clearer proof than had yet appeared, admit the original justice of the war, or, of consequence, the necessity of it; for no war could be necessary that was not just. There had been a time when Great Britain could have mediated with efficacy between France and the Germanic powers, and might have insisted upon each party confining themselves within their ancient bounds, at the same time renouncing every claim to interfere in their internal affairs. His lordship shewed the absurdity of continuing the war in order to stop the progress of democratic opinions; and added, that the governments of Europe would find their truest safety in exercising their power with equity and moderation. The British constitution admitted of improvement, and admitted it not only with safety but facility. He urged the importance of immediate negotiation, in order to promote union at home. To persist in the same course, under every alteration of circumstances, was not firmness but obstinacy. It was a mistaken notion of firmness that lost us America. With regard to the atrocities committed by the French, whatever might be their number or magnitude, who made us the avengers of guilt, or invested us with a right to dispense the judgments of Providence? To

GOD, not to us, they were accountable, and to him alone did justice and judgment belong. The French, we are told, are atheists, and this is urged as a reason for persisting in the war against France. Presumptuous idea! Miserable beings as we are, did we imagine that the arm of flesh was wanted to assist and enforce the will of the ALMIGHTY? The abuse of religion had been mistaken in France for religion itself. Hence, in the eagerness of her enthusiasm for the reform of religious abuses, she had renounced religion altogether, and been betrayed by the false light of philosophy into infidelity. But he doubted not but the mist in which they were at present bewildered would soon be dispersed, and Christianity appear in a purer form than ever."—The division upon the motion of amendment was 88 to 15 peers.

Not discouraged with the ill success of his former motion, and desirous to improve whatever impression had been made by it, Mr. Grey, on the 6th of February, moved the following well-weighed and judicious resolution:—
“ That this house, considering that, in the support which it has given to his majesty in the prosecution of the present war, it has at no time had any other object but to restore to these kingdoms the blessings of an equitable peace; that with a view to accomplish this humane
and

and desirable end, every formal difficulty which may stand in the way of a pacific negotiation with the powers with which we are at war ought, in the first instance, to be removed; and that without some acknowledgment of the existence of a competent power in France with which his majesty may negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace on just and reasonable terms for both parties, there can be no termination of the present war but in the destruction of one of them;—considering further, that the existence of such a competent power in France has been directly acknowledged by several of the powers in Europe, as well as by the United States of America, with all of whom, during the present war, France has maintained the accustomed relations of peace and amity;—and considering also that the existence of such a competent power in France has been, in various instances, virtually admitted even by the belligerent powers themselves, some of whom have entered into public resolutions to make overtures for peace,—is of opinion that the government now existing in France is competent to entertain and conclude a negotiation for peace with Great Britain.”—After an animated debate, the previous question, moved by Mr. Dundas, was carried by 190 to 60 voices.

In the house of peers, on the 12th of February,
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the duke of Bedford made a nearly similar motion, which was opposed, and the previous question moved, by lord Hawkesbury—the numbers being 101 to 15; against which the duke of Bedford, and the earls of Lauderdale, Buckinghamshire, and Guildford, entered their protest.

The harsh and haughty language of the king's speech, at the commencement of the session, had given general disgust; and Mr. Pitt had been forced to a concession, which was probably not within the scope of his original intention. The nation, at this period of the contest, seemed wearied and dispirited; the high and flattering hopes which Mr. Pitt had taught them to indulge had vanished into air, and they were not yet roused to higher exertion by the sense of danger and self-preservation. Taking advantage of this state of the public mind, and of the recent defection of Mr. Wilberforce and his party from the court, Mr. Fox, in a most able and luminous speech, moved, on the 24th of March, "That the house of commons should resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the state of the nation." This solemn mode of inquiry ought not (he observed) ever to be resorted to but in cases of peculiar emergency, and such he esteemed the present. He had himself introduced a similar motion, in 1777, after the sur-
render

render at Saratoga; but the perils to the country then were trifling and insignificant compared with what they were at present. If, when the public mind was evidently changed, the house should continue to repose a blind confidence in ministers, to impose new burdens on the people, not only without requiring them to negotiate, but even without demanding of them any account of the blood and treasure they had squandered, great advantage must be given to whoever wished to disseminate dissatisfaction. In justification of his motion, nothing more, he thought, was necessary, than to state to the house, that, after a war of two years, we had been uniformly unsuccessful, had relinquished the object for which the war was said to be undertaken, while the enemy had gained more than the wildest imaginations ever ascribed either to their ambition or principles. An inquiry must, in one view, be favorable even to ministers themselves. If we had, as ministers asserted, entered into the war from necessity, and had conducted it, as they also asserted, with wisdom and vigor, the result would be absolute despair. But perhaps they did not do their cause justice. Perhaps the cause of failure might inhere in the theoretic principle; and their practical measures, founded upon that erroneous principle, might be judicious and proper. Perhaps, on
the

the other hand, their theory was sound and just, but their mode of carrying it into execution, their practical measures, might be found unwise and indigested. In either case the public would receive some satisfaction; and they would, upon inquiry, either change the principle or censure the conduct; and ministers would be relieved from one part at least of the two-fold imputation, which, previous to any inquiry, must hang over their heads.

Great Britain, Mr. Fox said, had a right to demand an inquiry into the conduct of the king of Prussia. Was he an ally? Was he neutral? Was he an enemy? That monarch had alleged that he could do nothing without a subsidy: we had given him 1,200,000*l.* and the use he made of it was to attack Poland. The emperor was equally unable to move without the aid of a loan; and England must, it was manifest, sustain the whole weight of the war. Great subsidies were also paid to the Italian princes, though we scarcely heard of a movement in that country. Spain had lost Navarre, Biscay, and Catalonia, and must also be subsidized, or soon make peace with the enemy. All this called for inquiry. What was our conduct to the neutral powers—to America—whom we had first shamefully injured, then servilely courted? To the court of Denmark, whose wise po-
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licy reflected such high honor on her first minister, the count de Bernstorff? To Tuscany? To Switzerland? To Genoa?

Mr. Fox again insisted, in the strongest terms, upon the propriety and necessity of a specific avowal of the object of the war. Is it merely to repel certain acts of aggression, without adverting to any particular form of government in France? Then say distinctly what are those aggressions, and what the reparation you require.—Is it to wrest the Low Countries from the enemy, and to confine France to her antient limits? Avow it to be so, without disguise.—Is it to restore the antient monarchy, or any form of monarchy in France? Declare in this, and in every case, your object, openly and fairly, and you will not fail to secure many adherents and partizans. But ministers had so shuffled and trimmed between different systems, they had dealt out their declarations and professions in such ambiguous language, that they had lost all claim and title to confidence; and, through the puerile hope of embracing the incompatible advantages of these different plans, they had forfeited every benefit to be derived from the decided adoption of any one of them.

What could the great body of the emigrants suppose when they saw Valenciennes and Condé taken possession of in the name, not of Louis

XVIII. but of the emperor; and the French West-India islands in that of the king of England? Unquestionably, that we were fighting merely for the spoils of France.

Even at sea, where our fleets were triumphant, Mr. Fox remarked that, in the second year after France took part in the American war, the number of captures was 499. In the second year of this war the number was 860. All this demanded enquiry.

He then adverted to the condition of Ireland, the irritated state of which was to be ascribed, according to every appearance, to the misconduct of ministers. If the house refused to make any enquiry into these things, they would make themselves responsible for all the calamities which might and probably would ensue. The policy of ministers in relation to Ireland had been marked with the same ambiguity and inconsistency as their conduct towards France. He thought highly of the eloquence, and even of the talents, of the present minister, as exerted in a particular line; but he was a minister of art and plausibility merely, not of discernment, not of candor, not of generosity—‘in rebus politicis, nihil simplex, nihil apertum, nihil honestum.’

Mr. Pitt, in reply, asked whether, at a period so arduous and important, and so late in the session,

session, it could be deemed expedient to commence so extensive an investigation? Every topic in the speech just spoken had been fully discussed and decided upon: such a committee as that required was, therefore, as unnecessary as improper; it could answer no possible good purpose at the present moment: whenever *a proper period* arrived for investigating the conduct of the executive government, it would be found marked by moderation and forbearance. He positively disavowed the proposition that a nation, on entering into a war, was bound to state all its objects, and thus preclude itself from taking advantage of fortuitous circumstances as they might arise. Mr. Pitt concluded with moving the question of adjournment, which, after a debate of many hours, was carried by a majority of 219 to 63 voices. Upon this occasion, as on various others, it was remarked that a great proportion of the members present left the house without voting.

Lord Fitzwilliam, having now returned from Ireland, after a government of three months' duration only, appeared, on the 24th of April, in the house of peers, and in a manly and spirited manner challenged ministers to a full investigation of the causes of his removal. He said they had insinuated blame to him, and the gauntlet they had thus thrown down he willingly

lingly took up. A profound silence ensuing on the part of administration, the duke of Norfolk gave notice of a motion to address the king, that those parts of the correspondence between lord Fitzwilliam and the ministry which related to his lordship's recall from his government should be laid before the house. This was debated in a very full house on the 8th of May, the motion being supported, exclusive of those lords who usually acted in opposition, by the duke of Leeds, the earl of Moira, and lord Fitzwilliam himself, who positively avowed that he went out expressly authorized to complete the measure of Catholic emancipation, and that no objections had been made to the steps he had adopted for that purpose until he had proceeded to the dismissal of certain persons in office inimical to that measure, and had taken other gentlemen obnoxious to ministers here into his favour and confidence.—Lord Grenville declined entering into a formal discussion of the subject, being prevented, as he alleged, by *reasons of state* which he could not properly explain. But he asked in what respect the situation of a lord-lieutenant differed from that of any other minister of the crown, who might be removed at pleasure? and affirmed that the noble earl complained with an ill grace of being himself removed from office after he had exercised his
authority

authority in the removal of so many others. His lordship said he had seen the removal of many lord-lieutenants without a single complaint to parliament on the subject; and to adopt a new course would be to change the constitution.—After a long and vigorous debate the house divided: contents, 25; not-contents, 100.

A similar motion made by Mr. Jekyl in the house of commons, and seconded by Mr. Fox in a speech of great political comprehension and sagacity, was negatived by 188 to 49 voices.

The last effort of the session to rescue the nation from the calamities of an unjust and unnecessary war was made by Mr. Wilberforce on the 27th of May. He began by stating the general expectation of pacification, and the satisfaction which had arisen from it. Though he did not profess to go the length of *Vox populi vox Dei*, he thought the universal wish and desire of the people should only be superseded by extraordinary circumstances. It was an important duty, in every war, to look out continually for every opening which might lead to a conclusion of it, to see whether the original motives still subsisted, and whether it was needful to pursue the path we were treading. From a full review of the state of our allies he was of opinion that very slender assistance was to be expected from

any of them ; and the aspect of affairs in France afforded little encouragement obstinately to prosecute the war against her. The insurrections in that country were quelled ; she had made her peace with Russia and Tuscany ; she had subdued Holland ; and, notwithstanding the depreciation of her paper money, it did not appear that the operations of the French government were any-wise impeded ; nor could he see when the entire ruin of the French finances, so much talked of and so often foretold, was to take place. Her armies exhibited no symptoms of discontent, or her rulers of apprehension. The situation of Ireland, Mr. Wilberforce said, was truly critical, and the continuance of the war was much more likely to diffuse French principles there than the termination of it. As to the safety of Europe, did it belong to England to fight her battles almost without assistance ? Europe was able to take care of itself, and several of the confederate powers had already signed treaties with the French government ; and the emperor himself, in his rescript to the diet, had very recently notified his willingness to enter into negotiation with France. The motion he meant to propose merely prepared the way for treating, and, in words less strong than those used in the Imperial rescript, declared, “ That it is the opinion of the house that
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the present circumstances of France ought not to preclude the British government from entertaining proposals for a general pacification ; and that it is for the interest of Great Britain to make peace with France, if it can be fairly and honorably effected."

The motion was opposed by Mr. Windham, who avowed his opinion that peace, at the present moment, was neither safe nor honorable. It was evident that the exertions of the revolutionary government had relaxed, that its fortune had reached its height, and that it exhibited unequivocal symptoms of decay. Nothing but such motions as the present could prevent a speedy termination of the contest, and he contended that all France was rapidly adopting the sentiments of La Vendée. The motion was calculated to remove ministers from their situations, while the prospect of ultimate success from a continuance of the war was infinitely more flattering than ever ; it tended to promote disaffection at home, to strengthen the enemy ;— And said, that the cry of peace proceeded from the Jacobine faction in this country, and that the same sentiment was characteristic of the same party all over Europe *. He concluded with
moving

* Mr. Windham, being a profound metaphysician and adept in logic, without doubt relied for the justness of his conclusion on the following acute syllogism :

moving the order of the day.—Mr. Pitt corroborated the assertion of Mr. Windham, and affirmed, that, from the distractions which prevailed in France, and the discontents of the people, a new order of things might be expected to arise, more favorable to the success of the war than had hitherto appeared. The exertions of the country were, he said, manifestly on the decline: the depressed state of the assignats, and their incredible expenditure, proved them in a state which might well be styled bankruptcy.—The motion of Mr. Wilberforce was superseded by the order of the day, on a division of 211 to 88 voices: so that the opposition had evidently gained considerable ground in the course of the session.—A similar motion by the earl of Lauderdale, in the upper house, was negatived by a great and overwhelming majority.

In the course of the preceding winter a treaty of marriage had been negotiated between the prince of Wales and the princess Caroline,

If there are persons in England, and in the other European nations, who are advocates for peace, those persons are Jacobins.

But there are persons in this, and in all the countries of Christendom, who are the professed and zealous advocates for peace.

ERGO, Those persons are certainly Jacobins. *Q. E. D.*
Gratiano speaks an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Venice.

daughter

daughter to the duke of Brunswic. Early in the month of April the princess arrived in England, when the nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. It was, however, well understood that the prince acceded to this alliance with much reluctance—his attachment to the accomplished Mrs. Fitzherbert, with whom the marriage ceremony, though invalid by law, had undoubtedly passed, having suffered no diminution. He was induced to this fatal compliance by two considerations; first, the pressing instances of the king to dissolve his connection with the lady who had so long been in possession no less of his esteem than his affection; and, secondly, the promise positively made to him that immediate provision should be made for the discharge of his debts, now increased to a vast amount.

In consequence of a message from the king, delivered by Mr. Pitt, stating the reliance of his majesty upon the generosity of the house to enable him to settle an establishment upon the prince and princess suited to their rank and dignity, and to relieve him from his present incumbrances, the house went, May 4, into a committee on this subject. Mr. Pitt, in the committee, declared that it was not his majesty's intention to require a specific sum for the discharge of the debts of his royal highness, but to set apart

a certain portion of that income which might be granted by the liberality of parliament to their gradual liquidation. The extent of the debts was stated by Mr. Pitt at between six and seven hundred thousand pounds, no part of which, he said, could possibly be defrayed out of the civil list. He observed that the present income of the prince was 60,000*l.* per annum, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall, which he estimated at 13,000*l.*; that the late prince of Wales, father of the present king, and the late king George II. when prince, possessed a net income of 100,000*l.* without that duchy, at a time when money was of much more value than at present. He therefore proposed that the revenue of his royal highness should be 125,000*l.* exclusive of the duchy; that the jointure of the princess should be 50,000*l.* per annum; and that the proportion of the prince's income appropriated for the payment of his debts should be vested in the hands of commissioners. And in order that effectual provision might be made to prevent the recurrence of any such claim in future, he recommended that no arrear should, on any pretence, go beyond the quarter; that debts not then claimed should wholly lapse; and that all suits for the recovery of debts from his royal highness should lie against his officers.

These several regulations, though very necessary

cessary and proper, being deemed, by some admirers of *étiquette*, incompatible with the rank and dignity of the great personage concerned—much more so, doubtless, in their estimation, than the contracting of debts he was unable to pay—the prince, with his characteristic generosity, and an implicit avowal of his former indiscretion, sent, on the 1st of June, a message to the house by his attorney-general, Mr. Anstruther, stating “That he was desirous to acquiesce in whatever might be the sentiments of the house, both with respect to his future expenditure, and the appropriation of any part of the income they might grant him for the discharge of his debts: his wish was entirely to consult the wisdom of parliament. He was perfectly disposed to acquiesce in any abatement of splendor they might judge necessary, and desired to have nothing but what the country might be cordially disposed to think he ought to have. In fine, whatever measures were taken by parliament would meet with his hearty concurrence.”—The prince of Wales had now passed the season of youth, the errors incident to which, it might reasonably be hoped, he had by this time seen and relinquished. He possessed an excellent natural understanding, liberal sentiments, engaging manners, with many amiable and estimable qualities. In alleviation of the

imprudence he had shewn, and of the severe censure he had too justly incurred by contracting a second time, in the space of eight years, so vast a debt, could only be alleged the extreme inadequacy of his income to his station in life. From the aggregate amount of the debt, ought, however, in reason and equity, to be deducted the proceeds of the revenue of Cornwall during his minority, amounting, according to the accounts laid before parliament, to the sum of 233,000*l.* and which, under the guardianship of the Court of Chancery, it was remarked, would have produced 350,000*l.* This the king had received, as if it were a branch of the civil list, for twenty-two years, under the poor pretence of defraying the expence of the prince's education. And if this deduction be admitted, the general expenditure of the prince will not be found, at the average, from the period of his attaining the age of majority to the present time, much to exceed the reasonable allowance of 100,000*l.* per annum.

It appeared, in the course of this investigation, much to the honor of the prince, that he had actually some time since come to a resolution not to apply again to parliament, to retire from public life, and apply the greatest part of his income to the payment of his debts, agreeably to the advice of lord Thurlow and
others ;

others ; but that from this laudable design he was vehemently dissuaded by lord Loughborough, who, no doubt, spoke from direction, and who pretended that the advice in question favored too much of that given to M. Egalité, and he could guess from what quarter it came. The plan was therefore relinquished. It was at length agreed, that the annual sum of 78,000*l.* should be appropriated to the discharge of the debts, which, it was calculated, would completely liquidate them in the space of nine years. In the mean time the prince, as the penalty of his indiscretion, was satisfied to live in a comparatively private manner upon the remaining 60,000*l.* and a bill, containing the provisions above mentioned, in a few weeks passed, with pretty general concurrence, through both houses.

In the course of the session Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion for the immediate abolition of the infamous slave-trade, and was ably supported by Mr. Whitbread, Mr. William Smith, and Mr. Pitt : but the house was now grown cold and callous to all reasoning upon this subject ; and, on the proposition of Mr. Dundas, who still professed himself friendly to the object, but adverse to the time, the consideration of the question was adjourned for six months.

Late in the session Mr. Dundas made a very favorable report of the state of the East-India Company's

Company's affairs and finances, which he asserted to be better by the sum of 1,412,249*l.* than at the last annual statement, which the house confirmed by the sanction of their vote.

The long-depending cause of Mr. Hastings, which began February 12th, 1788, terminated during the present session. The charges against him had been comprized under four heads: 1. The Rajah Cheyt Sing. 2. The Begums of Oude. 3. Presents. 4. Contracts. The report of the committee of peers was received on the 2d of April, and on the 23d the articles of accusation were submitted to the decision of the house of lords. Out of four hundred peers, twenty-nine only deemed themselves competent to vote on the questions before the court; and of these, eight, viz. the lord-chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Carnarvon, Radnor, Fitzwilliam, Suffolk, and Mansfield, and lord Walsingham, gave a verdict of guilty upon one or other of the charges preferred against him: so that the acquittal could by no means be considered either as unanimous or honorable. The truth is, that from the extraordinary length of this trial, the complexity of the evidence, and the multiplicity of the documents to be consulted, and, above all, from the obscurity in which the merits of the cause were involved by being made for so many years the perpetual
theme

theme of eloquence, it was very difficult, without bestowing a larger share of attention, or possessing an higher portion of discrimination, than falls to the lot of the generality of persons, to determine, without hesitation, upon the political character and conduct of the accused. Had the evidence been condensed into a moderate compass, and divested of the pomp of declamation and the violence of invective, it would have struck the public mind much more forcibly, and Mr. Hastings would scarcely have escaped the censure and punishment due to a state-delinquent. Or if the house of peers had at all events returned a verdict of Not Guilty, the house of commons would have stood justified in the view of the world at large, and the political reputation of Mr. Hastings would have sustained irreparable injury. Upon the whole, it must be acknowledged, that this famous trial, which had attracted, by its importance and duration, the attention of all Europe, was at length brought to a most lame and impotent conclusion. The speaker of the house of commons, nevertheless, in giving the thanks of the house to the managers of the impeachment, in his official capacity, had the complaisance to say, that their exertions in this cause had conferred honor not on themselves only, but on the house under whose authority they had acted; and he referred

ferred with dignity and propriety to the increased security which the constitution had derived in the course of the proceedings on this trial, from the recognition and full confirmation of the principle, that an impeachment is not discontinued by a dissolution of parliament.

The session terminated on the 27th of June, 1795. The speech from the throne, on this occasion, seemed to breathe much more the air of pacification than at its commencement; and his majesty was graciously pleased to declare it to be impossible to contemplate the internal situation of the enemy, with whom we were contending, without indulging a hope that the present circumstances of France might, in their effects, hasten the return of such a state of order and regular government as may be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace with other powers.

The proceedings of the Irish parliament during this session were scarcely less interesting and important than that of Great Britain. In the coalition which actually took place in the course of the preceding summer, and which had been more than two years in contemplation, between the existing administration and the Portland party, it was understood that the department of Ireland was to be entrusted altogether to the latter: and earl Fitzwilliam ac-
cepted

cepted the high and arduous office of lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, with the avowed purpose of admitting and establishing the claim of Catholic emancipation in its full extent. That nobleman, distinguished by the beneficence of his disposition and rectitude of his intentions, though partially led astray by the pernicious counsels of the demoniac Burke, himself informs us *, “that when the negotiation between the two political parties was pending, if the general management and superintendence of Ireland had not been offered by Mr. Pitt, *that* coalition could never have taken place: it was offered from the beginning of the negotiation:” and his lordship appeals to the duke of Portland, “whether the office was not offered entire? and whether he was forewarned by Mr. Pitt, that it was to be the divested of half its duties, half its importance, and all its character?” Previously to lord Fitzwilliam’s acceptance of the vice-royalty, “he had not only satisfied himself (as he tells us) that the Catholics ought to be relieved from every remaining disqualification, but he knew that the duke of Portland perfectly concurred with him in that opinion. And when the question came under discussion, previous to his departure for Ireland, he found the cabinet, with Mr. Pitt at their head, strongly impressed with

* Vide “Letters to the Earl of Carlisle.”

the same conviction; and" his lordship adds, "had I found it otherwise I never would have undertaken the government."

Lord Fitzwilliam, however, was by no means an enthusiast in the business. "It was his intention not to press the matter prematurely upon the Irish legislature, but rather to protract it to a period of more general tranquillity; but if the Catholics appeared determined to bring forward the question, he, on his part, would not refuse them a handsome support on the part of government."

Upon his arrival in Dublin, about the close of the year 1794, his lordship directly found, and he forthwith informed the British cabinet, "that the question would force itself upon his immediate consideration. The business had been already put into the hands of Mr. Grattan, in whom the lord-lieutenant could repose entire confidence; and a rising impatience being apparent amongst the Catholics after the presentation of the petitions, there was reason to apprehend, had any delay intervened, that the measure might be transferred to some other person with whom the viceroy had no connection, and over whom he could entertain no hope of control." His lordship moreover observed to the English cabinet, "that the Irish nation were remarkably averse to the war, and some considerable concessions were consequently
necessary

necessary to conciliate them." It being well understood that lord Fitzwilliam was a decided friend to the Catholic claims, that nobleman was received, on his entrance into the government, with the loudest and most heartfelt congratulations which had ever been offered upon any similar occasion. In order to secure the success of the wise and beneficent plans of the Irish government now in contemplation, it was deemed absolutely essential by the lord-lieutenant to remove from their stations certain persons who had ever stood forward as the determined enemies of Catholic emancipation, and indeed of every species of political improvement and reform. Amongst these were the chancellor of Ireland, lord Fitzgibbon, Mr. Beresford, brother to the earl of Tyrone, an efficient member of the late administration holding the office of commissioner of the Irish treasury, to which several others were added—"a person laboring," such is the language of lord Fitzwilliam, "under universal heavy suspicions, and who would have subjected his government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant on his mal-administration." Also Mr. Wolfe, the attorney-general, and Mr. Toler, the solicitor-general; proposing nevertheless to alleviate their hard fate by peerages, pensions, or other sinecure emoluments.

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In a letter written by the lord-lieutenant to the English secretary of state, dated January 15, 1795, he stated "his decided opinion that, no time was to be lost, and that, if he received no peremptory instructions to the contrary, he should acquiesce in the pressing instances made to him on the part of the Catholics;" at the same time mentioning the actual dismissal of Mr. Beresford, who had for many years past been the secret mover and principal adviser of the Irish counsels—an invisible minister, of more weight than all the ostensible ones—the spring and centre of the High Church, Tory, and Prerogative system in that kingdom—in a word, the Charles Jenkinson of Ireland. Notwithstanding this official intimation, no notice was taken, for many weeks, in any dispatches from England of the grand question of Catholic emancipation. But in the interval Mr. Beresford had repaired to London, and by his bold representations, not to the ministers only, but, as was confidently reported and believed, to the king himself, to whom he obtained easy access, he excited an extreme dislike and apprehension of the innovations projected by lord Fitzwilliam. At length, on the 14th of February, the lord-lieutenant received a letter from Mr. Pitt, remonstrating against the actual dismissal of Mr. Beresford, and that in contem-
plation

plation of Mr. Wolfe and Mr. Tolér. By the very same mail his excellency received a letter from the duke of Portland, expressing, for the first time, the doubts and difficulties of the British cabinet respecting the question of emancipation, and strongly recommending the postponement of the discussion in parliament. But this was no longer in lord Fitzwilliam's power. For the session having commenced on the 22d of January, Mr. Grattan had, two days previous to the receipt of these letters, moved for and obtained leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of his majesty's subjects professing the Roman-catholic religion. On the very same evening that the lord-lieutenant received the letters in question he replied to them ably, and largely setting forth "the imminent danger of now retracting on the Catholic business," and with noble resolution refusing "to be the person to raise a flame, which nothing but the force of arms could keep down." And his excellency at the same time transmitted to the duke of Portland ample documents justificatory of his sentiments and conduct. But the British cabinet scarcely deigned to give them the reading. On the 21st of February a council was held, at which the duke of Portland assisted; and his grace was by this time grown so obsequious a courtier, that he hesitated not to accede to the

vote for disgracing his friend; and submitted to be the efficient instrument for transmitting to him the letters of recall—Lord Camden, son of the late illustrious nobleman of that name, the heir of his title, but by no means of his talents, being appointed his successor.

The intelligence of this fatal recall was as a politico-volcanic convulsion, which shook the island to its centre. A vote of the house of commons, expressing high approbation of the conduct of lord Fitzwilliam, passed, on the motion of Mr. Conolly, with the single dissentient voice of Mr. Beresford. Addresses, containing sentiments of mingled gratitude and regret, were presented from all parts of the kingdom to the late viceroy, and scarcely could the people restrain the emotions of their indignation. After a short visit to his estates in the county of Wicklow, lord Fitzwilliam, on the 25th of March, 1795, took his departure for England. On that memorable day no business was transacted. The citizens appeared in deep mourning, vast crowds accompanying his lordship to the water-side; and, though strong apprehensions were entertained of popular commotion, a profound and melancholy silence prevailed, as if a præternatural foreboding of the horrible events which were to succeed oppressed

pressed and overwhelmed the minds of all with an unutterable weight of sorrow.

Lord Camden arrived in Dublin on the 31st of March, and immediately assumed the reins of government. Some disturbances took place on the evening of that day, but they were soon quelled by the intervention of the military—a wretched omen of his disastrous administration. On the 13th of April the parliament met pursuant to adjournment, and on the 21st a motion was made by Mr. Grattan for an enquiry into the state of the nation, including the reasons for the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, which was negatived by a large majority of that very parliament who almost unanimously, and with an enthusiasm unprecedented, had supported ALL the measures of the preceding administration. Such was in this unhappy country the wonderful and pernicious extent of the influence of the crown over the deliberations, or rather the determinations, of the legislative body.

On the 24th of April, Mr. Grattan presented his famous bill for the emancipation of the Catholics, the principal debate on which took place on the second reading, May 4, when it was finally rejected by a majority of 71 voices, to the inexpressible chagrin, gradually kindling into resentment and rage, of the great mass of the Irish nation. Two of the most remarkable

speeches delivered in the course of this memorable debate were those of Dr. Duigenan, a civilian, and Mr. Arthur O'Connor, a very young member of the house, representing the county of Kerry,—the first in opposition to, the latter in support of, the measure. From the speech of doctor Duigenan, it appeared that the Irish Catholics, despairing of success, from the period of the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, had already ventured to adopt dangerous and unwarrantable combinations, in order to secure their eventual emancipation. A committee of nine, chosen by the Roman-catholics of Dublin, seemed to possess unlimited influence over the Catholic body throughout the kingdom. In consequence of their recommendation, petitions had been presented to parliament by the Catholic inhabitants of every county, city, and borough, in the four provinces. A meeting of the general assembly of Catholics had been held in the metropolis, April 9, in which, according to the report of doctor Duigenan, several most traitorous and seditious speeches were publicly pronounced—openly declaring that the war we were engaged in against the French was, on our part, and the part of our allies, an impious crusade against liberty; that all victories obtained by his majesty's arms were public calamities to Ireland, for which her children ought to weep; that
they

they would hereafter never make any application to a British ministry, nor have any connection with them; that they would support a radical reform in the house of commons; and that this nation could never be happy till its government was changed into a republic, independent of Great Britain. From all which the doctor inferred “that the general body of Irish Catholics had no pretensions to loyalty, and their petitions in that respect contained an acknowledged falsehood;—any bill therefore framed for the political aggrandisement of a body of people entertaining such detestable and traitorous sentiments ought to be rejected with the utmost contempt by the house. No sect of people denying the supremacy of the state in one half of its legislature and executive authority can with any propriety be put on a level with those who admit in the fullest manner the supremacy of the state, as well in ecclesiastical matters as temporal. As to the power of the Roman-catholics in the state, that, he said, must be estimated, not so much from their numbers as from their landed estates and personal property. The landed estates in the hands of the Protestants in Ireland are in the proportion of fifty to one; and their personal property is confined to merchants and traders in the chief commercial towns, and it certainly does not amount to the twentieth part of

that of the Protestants! 'Tis one of the arts practised by the patrons of this bill, to endeavour to intimidate the house by prophecies and forebodings of dreadful wars, tumults, and massacres, which they are constantly trumpeting forth, as the certain consequences of the rejection of this bill. The enjoyment of the representative franchise by Roman-catholics in Ireland would subvert the constitution; and if it were true that the enjoyment of the representative franchise is a certain consequence of the enjoyment of the elective, the argument of the patrons of this bill would only prove that we ought instantly to deprive the Roman-catholics of the elective franchise, for the preservation of the constitution in church and state. If you capacitate Roman-catholics to enjoy all the great offices of state, and to sit in parliament, by passing this bill, what is called by the republican faction a reform in parliament must be the immediate consequence, as the representation of all countries, and of all cities and boroughs, where the election is popular, will be open to Catholic ambition. If you confess, by passing the present bill, that you cannot and dare not resist their present demand, how will you be able to resist their demand of a reform, when their strength and influence will be increased ten-fold, and when their interest will draw still closer the bands
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of confederacy between them and the republicans? All aristocratical influence will then be banished from this house; it will become a mere democratic assembly—and the more Catholic the more democratic. Then adieu to all establishment!—church and state will vanish before them; and an immediate conversion of this monarchical government into a republic, under the protection of France, will be the consequence. In fact, the Roman-catholics are now completely republicans and democrats:—the Stuart race to which they were attached are extinct; and they mortally hate an English government, and the house of Brunswic.”

Tainted as this speech was with bigotry and malignity, it contained some alarming assertions, which at least bore such affinity to truth as served to make that sort of impression which it is difficult completely to counteract. On the other hand, the speech of Mr. O'Connor, amidst a grand display of just and beneficial principles of government, breathed a spirit of romance and enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, very pardonable indeed, if this be not too cold a term to use, in speaking of the glowing effusions of a youthful and generous mind, but which a wise and cautious statesman, who looked chiefly to the practical consequences of measures, would be compelled to regard with

jealousy, and to receive with many modifications adapted to the actual state of things. “Is it (said this animated orator) because we were the most wretched and miserable nation in Europe as long as this system of monopoly and exclusion, for which the gentlemen on the opposite side of the house contend, under the title of Constitution in Church and State, remained whole and entire—is it because we have heard those gentlemen, year after year, predict the ruin of the country from extending the constitution to our Catholic countrymen, and that we have seen the country flourish in an exact proportion to that extension,—that we should now stop short on their authority, and consecrate the remainder of the system of monopoly and exclusion? Let the men who have profited by the old system, to the monstrous aggrandizement of themselves and their connections, risk what they please in its defence; but let me conjure the house to consider that they are no longer legislating for the barbarous ignorant ages which have gone by, but for the intelligent age in which we live, and for the yet more enlightened centuries which are to come.—The church we are told is in danger—the interest of the Protestant religion is at stake; but those who make this objection have confounded the interest of the clergy with the interest of religion. I
would

would rest the whole argument on the fact ; I would ask, has the Protestant religion been promoted in proportion as the Protestant clergy have been enriched ? Has the Catholic religion decayed according to the views of those who doomed the professors of it to poverty ? Has not this ecclesiastical establishment sown the seeds of eternal rancor, animosity, and litigation, between the pastor and his flock ? Does it not appear to the world as if this establishment was instituted to make the people sensible of their indigence, by a comparison with the wealth of the church, the dignities and preferments of which serve as a provision for the families and connections of the political robbers of the state, and the political advocates for the existing system ; so that the Protestant religion seems intended rather to support the establishment than the establishment to support the religion. I here avow myself the zealous and earnest advocate for the most unqualified emancipation of my Catholic countrymen, in the firm conviction that the accursed monopoly of the rights and liberties of my country, which has hitherto effectually withstood the efforts of a part of the community, must yield to the unanimous will, to the decided interest, and to the general effort of a whole people.—We must indeed be a spiritless nation if we do not resent the baseness of a British minister, who

who has excited our hopes in order to blast them after. He has sported with the feelings of a whole nation, raising the cup with one hand to the parched lip of expectancy ; he has dashed it to the earth with the other, in all the wantonness of insult, and with all the aggravation of contempt. I trust the people of England are too wise and too just to attempt to force measures upon us they would reject with disdain themselves ; but if they should be so weak, or so wicked, as to suffer themselves to be seduced by a man to whose soul duplicity and finessè are congenial,—if we are to be dragooned into measures against the interest and against the sense of a whole nation,—I trust in God, Britain will find in this country a spirit no way inferior to her own ! If, instead of reciprocal advantage, nothing is to be reaped from the connection with England but venality, injury, insult, degradation, and poverty, it is acting only upon the common feelings of human-nature if the people of this kingdom are driven to court the alliance of any nation able and willing to break the chains of such a bondage. You are at this moment at the most awful period of your lives, you stand committed with your country, and on this night your adoption or rejection of this bill must determine, in the eyes of the Irish nation, which of the two you represent—the

minister

minister of England, or the people of Ireland. The weakness of your title should only make you the more circumspect in the exercise of your power. Will you not take warning by the fate of the government of France, which, by not adapting its conduct to the changes of the public mind, has brought ruin on itself, and destruction on its country. Do not imagine that the minds of your countrymen have been stationary, while that of all Europe has been so rapidly progressive; for you must be blind not to perceive that the whole European mind has undergone a revolution, neither confined to this nor to that country, but as general as the mighty causes which have given it birth, and which still continue to feed its growth."—The bill was at length, fatally for Ireland, rejected by a majority of 71 voices; and the house standing, according to the striking expression of Mr. O'Connor, *committed with their country*, were, however tremendous the responsibility, obliged to abide the issue.

Upon the whole, it was abundantly manifest, that the political rectitude of this decision depended not upon the abstract justice of the claims insisted upon on the part of the Catholics, for of this there could be no possible doubt, but upon the grand practical consideration how far those demands could be granted with safety
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to the existing government, which rested for support upon the continuance of the Protestant ascendancy in parliament. The application of principles, however generally or abstractedly right, must be determined and modified by circumstances; and the counsels of nations ought to be guided by an enlightened benevolence, and not by an implicit regard to any metaphysic theory. Allowing and even affirming this as a proposition most important and incontrovertible, it nevertheless appears that, upon every principle of policy as well as justice, the present claim of Catholic emancipation ought to have been conceded in its full extent, and with the most cheerful concurrence on the part of government; for this was merely admitting them into a participation of civil liberty, not of political power. True it is, that the representative franchise constituted a necessary part of the general system of emancipation; but, upon the present system of representation, it was computed that scarcely twenty Catholics would have been elected members. The question of emancipation was therefore by the Catholics invariably associated with that of a reform in parliament. How far this reform, in the actual state of Ireland, could have been granted with safety, was a question of deep political consideration: but, unhappily, it was never suffered fairly,

fairly, and in its full force, to come before parliament. Emancipation, which was both politic and just, was refused, in order to preclude the legislative discussion of this topic; and an immediate and certain danger of the highest magnitude was incurred, in order to avert a remote, contingent, and comparatively trivial one. This is sufficient to place the guilt and folly of those who resolved on the recall of lord Fitzwilliam in a conspicuous point of view, particularly after they had by previous encouragement raised universally the most sanguine expectations in the minds of the Catholics, whose subsequent anger and astonishment must have been excited in the same proportion. But on an occasion of this momentous nature it will be pardonable, should history deviate a little into the regions of speculation, and enquire what would have been the progress of the public mind had the Catholic claim of emancipation been granted? In this case, as the Catholic would have stood, as to the privileges of the constitution, in all respects upon a level with the Protestant,—as the nation, instead of being distracted by the animosities of opposing factions, would have become one and indivisible,—by far the most powerful motive would have been wanting to induce the Catholics to urge the question of parliamentary reform with the same earnestness, or rather

rather vehemence, with which they prosecuted a claim in which every individual of that vast body was more or less personally interested. In case emancipation had been conceded, every reflecting Catholic would have asked himself, with respect to parliamentary reform, What benefit shall I derive from it beyond what I now enjoy? In general, the answer must have been, "Very little, perhaps nothing." The probability, nay the moral certainty, therefore is, that the bulk of the Catholics would have been well satisfied with that species of moderate reform in church and state which would have left a vast preponderance of power in the hands of the Protestants, who were in actual possession of a vast preponderance of property. The leaders of the Catholics themselves must have been perfectly sensible, that to accomplish such a reform or change in the system of representation as would have secured to that body a majority in the house of commons,—which, considering the amazing weight of property in the hands of the Protestants, it is indeed probable that universal suffrage itself would have been far from effecting,—must have required an effort which, when the Catholics were invested with all the privileges of the constitution, it was neither worth their while to make, nor would they have been supported in the attempt.

Wisdom

Wisdom and virtue are surely not confined to Protestants; ALL men amongst the Catholics, who were not actuated by the mere phrenzy of innovation, would have seen that, as members of a great empire, of which they were the minority, it was both their duty and their interest to acquiesce in the established order of things, even in that country of which they constituted the majority, when it was founded upon, and exercised agreeably to, the principles of justice and equity. Considering the hazards and dangers of resistance to established government, it is not in human-nature that it should proceed, if general, from mere caprice. Great injuries must be previously sustained, and the passions must be violently inflamed, before such extremities are resorted to. But emancipation, and its attendant moderate and practical reforms, would have annihilated the actual injury sustained by the Catholics; and an habitual disposition on the part of the government to conciliation and concession, so far as the general safety and welfare of the state permitted, would effectually have banished from the subsequent investigation those angry passions which it is the part of a wise government to avoid exciting: on the contrary, the opposite emotions of gratitude, confidence, and affection, would by this means have been powerfully awakened in the
breasts

breasts of that susceptible and generous people ; liberal allowance would have been made for the real difficulties of government ; and the Irish Catholics would have felt in all its force the axiom of the celebrated MILTON, who justly and nobly says: “ For this is not the liberty which we can hope for, that no grievance ever should arise in the commonwealth—*that* let no man in this world expect : but where complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained that wise men look for*.”

Most unfortunately for the interests of the British empire, her affairs had now been for ten years in the hands of a minister of great eloquence, art, and address indeed, but who was alike destitute of that enlarged comprehension of mind, and of those generous feelings of the heart, which form, when combined, that greatest of human characters—the genuine patriot statesman. The voice of Mr. Pitt, when aspiring to political pre-eminence, had been beyond all others loudest in the clamor of reform ; and, when he had attained to power, his hand was beyond all others heaviest in the oppression and persecution of those who had listened to his doctrines and had acted upon his principles.

* Milton's Arcopagitica.

The session of parliament in Ireland ended June the 5th, 1795. The lord-lieutenant, in his speech, touched lightly upon the distracted state of the country, consequent upon the rejection of the late bill of emancipation; contenting himself with an earnest recommendation to the members of both houses to make those exertions which the times demanded, and enforcing the necessity of an exact submission to the laws—An exhortation, alas! in the present temper, or rather distemper, of the times, altogether unavailing and useless. From this period the famous political association styled the Society of United Irishmen rapidly extended itself over the whole country, including all the Catholics, and a large proportion of the Protestants, of the kingdom; and from this period also they began, as was previously predicted, to entertain very dangerous views, and to form illegal and treasonable connections and correspondences with the government of France. A spirit of universal disaffection prevailed. Secret oaths of adherence to the association were administered. Agents were sent to negotiate with the Convention. Acts of sedition, rapine, and murder, were perpetrated by the most desperate of the lawless and licentious populace against the bigoted and violent supporters of government, who, on the other hand, confederated

rated together for the purposes of security and revenge, under the name of Orangemen, in societies styled Orange-Lodges. Mutual injuries soon generated a most inveterate and mutual hatred between these two descriptions of citizens, one of whom was beyond comparison superior in numbers, the other in property, in legal authority, in military force. These dissensions gradually increased, till the whole land exhibited a scene of consternation, blood, and horror. It has even been positively asserted that entire districts of Catholics were mercilessly proscribed by the human fiends styling themselves Orangemen, and compelled to remove with their families and effects beyond the Shannon, under the penalty of having their habitations burned, their property destroyed, and their persons endangered. ‘TO CONNAUGHT OR TO HELL!’ was the infernal mandate of these villains. Hope fled the country;—men acted under the instigation of revenge, and took counsel of despair. The dreadful effects of the weak and wicked system of mis-government, recommended and acted upon by the enemies of Catholic liberty, and indeed of all liberty, were fully apparent. By the operation of this system Ireland was lashed into madness, and driven to crimes and follies which her sober reason would have shrunk from with detestation.

From this view of civil transactions it is now necessary to transfer our attention to military concerns, which can scarcely exhibit a picture more bloody or disastrous. It has been already mentioned that the British army, after the abandonment of Nimeguen, took the route of Arnheim and Deventer, under the command of general Abercrombie. They reached the last of these places at the end of January 1795, closely pursued by a far superior force. In their precipitate retreat—or, to speak plainly, their unintermitted flight—through the country, they continued to suffer incredible hardships—the partial thaws which took place obliging the soldiers to wade through torrents of mud and water. Although they every-where endeavoured to destroy the magazines in their line of march, vast quantities of artillery, ammunition, and stores, fell into the hands of the French. After a very short halt at Deventer the army moved again toward the German frontier; and on the 12th of February they crossed the Ems at Rheine, being much harassed by the advanced parties of the enemy. At Groningen the division commanded by lord Cathcart was refused admittance; but after a long series of dismal disasters, of which the detail may well be spared, the shattered remains of this fine body of troops, supposed, at their departure from England, to

amount to 35,000 men, now reduced to about a fifth part of the number, reached the city of Bremen on the 27th and 28th of March; and in a short time they embarked on board the transports lying ready to receive them in the Elbe for their native country.

Early in the new year the French armies on the Rhine and Neckar reduced the strong fort du Rhein, on the western bank of the river, which covered the city of Mannheim; and formed the blockade of the important town of Mentz. During the winter negotiations had been publicly carrying on between the Convention and the court of Berlin; and on the 5th of April a treaty of peace was signed at Basle between the two powers, the chief condition of which imported that the French should continue to occupy that part of the Prussian territory situated on the left bank of the Rhine, actually in their possession—all definitive arrangements to be postponed till a general pacification shall take place with the German empire. By a subsequent convention a line of demarcation was drawn, comprehending the northern circles of Germany, beyond which the French consented not to carry their arms; and soon afterwards peace was concluded with the French republic by the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the ELECTOR of HANOVER!

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Uninterrupted conquest still attended the arms of France on the side of the Pyrénées. The siege of the strong maritime town of Roses, situated eight leagues to the north-east of Girone, in the province of Catalonia, was begun about the close of the preceding year (1794). The heavy artillery had scarcely effected a slight breach when the volunteers of the besieging army begged permission to mount; but the garrison, not daring to stand the assault, embarked, during the darkness of the night, on board the vessels lying in the harbour; and the French took bloodless possession of that important fortress. A variety of engagements succeeded, in which the republicans had uniformly the advantage; and at length, gaining the open country, no impediment seemed to remain to prevent their marching to Madrid. But the king of Spain, seized with just terror, transmitted orders to Don Domingo d'Yriate, whom he had nominated his plenipotentiary at Basle, immediately to conclude a treaty of pacification, which, on the part of the French, was signed on the 22d of July by M. Barthelemy. By this treaty France agreed to evacuate her conquests in Spain, and the Catholic king ceded to the French republic all the Spanish part of the island of St. Domingo—an invaluable acquisition, and capable of unlimited improvement.

The grand-duke of Tuscany also, about this period, resumed his system of neutrality, declaring, in a public proclamation (March 1), "That whilst he enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing Tuscany superior as it were to the occurrences of the times, resting peaceful and quiet on that neutrality which was constantly respected by the French republic, he found himself involved in those unpleasant transactions which are already known to all Europe. Although his royal highness was unable to resist them, yet he consented to nothing but the removal of the French minister resident at his court,—the only act which the imperious circumstances of the times could extort from him. And his royal highness now expressly repeals all acts of adhesion, consent, and accession, to the armed coalition against the French republic."—The campaign of this summer in Italy afforded no incident worthy of historic notice: it is sufficient to say that the French failed in their attempts to establish themselves in the open country of Piedmont.

On the 7th of June the impregnable fortress of Luxemburg, which had been in a state of blockade from the time that France had subjected the circumjacent country, capitulated upon the most honorable terms. The garrison consisted of 10,000 men, commanded by marshal Bender, a brave and skilful officer, who
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might, and undoubtedly would, have continued to defend the place, upon the works of which little impression had been made, if he had not deemed the release of so large a garrison more than an equivalent to the emperor for the surrender of a fortress which it was utterly out of his power to succour. The possession of Luxemburg completed the conquest of the country to the left of the Rhine, with the exception of Mentz, which had now been fruitlessly besieged for several months. The Austrians, commanded by generals Clairfait and Wurmser, maintained an uninterrupted intercourse with the garrison, from Cassel, on the opposite bank. It being at length perceived that the city could not be reduced until a perfect investment was formed, a very large body of the French troops, under general Jourdain, passed the Rhine for that purpose at Dusseldorf, which surrendered without resistance—the Austrians retiring to a strong position on the Lahn. Another body, equal in force, commanded by general Pichegru, effected the passage of the river at Mannheim, of which city they took immediate possession, on terms very favorable to the inhabitants. The investment of Mentz was now at last accomplished, and a confident hope was entertained of its speedy capitulation; but the event shewed the uncertainty of war:

a division of general Pichegru's army being ordered to the attack of a post necessary to prevent the junction of the forces of Clairfait and Wurmser, now marching to the relief of Mentz, were overpowered, and compelled to retreat with precipitation to Mannheim; and Jourdain, thus deprived of the expected co-operation of Pichegru, found his position no longer tenable. The Austrians also, by an attack on neutral territory, had taken part of his heavy artillery: Jourdain was therefore obliged to raise the siege, and repassed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, much harassed by general Clairfait in his retreat. The Austrians even pursued the enemy across the river, and beat up the quarters of the French, spreading terror over the country as far as Luxemburg.

General Wurmser, on the other side, proceeded to the attack of Mannheim; and in revenge for the too easy surrender of this place to the French by the elector, who was anxious for its preservation, the Austrians immediately began a bombardment, which in a short time destroyed the principal buildings, public and private, of that beautiful city, reducing it to a scene of horrible desolation; and of these smoking ruins, once Mannheim, the besiegers, after making the usual regular approaches, had the satisfaction to become masters, the garrison surrendering themselves

themselves prisoners of war. Various indecisive encounters took place between the different armies during the remainder of this campaign, which was at length terminated by an armistice of three months, agreed upon by the generals, and ratified by the respective belligerent powers.

The marine of France being extremely reduced by the disasters of the war, the naval transactions of the present summer, owing to the extreme caution of the enemy, are not very interesting or memorable. In the month of March an engagement took place in the Mediterranean, off the coast of Corsica, between two squadrons of nearly equal force, commanded by the admirals Hotham and Richery, which terminated honorably for the English. The *Ca Ira* of eighty, and the *Censeur* of seventy-four guns, struck to the British flag: but on the other hand the French unfortunately captured the *Berwick*, of seventy-four guns, on its way to join the fleet; and the *Illustrious*, of the same rate, being much damaged in the fight, was driven on shore, and lost near Avenza.

The very skilful and gallant retreat of admiral Cornwallis, with a small squadron of five ships of the line, from a far superior force, is not undeserving of historic mention. The admiral had been for some weeks cruising off Belleisle,

Belleisle, where he had made some valuable mercantile captures; but on the 16th of June, standing in with the land near the Penmarks, the Phaëton frigate made a signal for an enemy's fleet, consisting of no less than thirteen line-of-battle ships. At nine the next morning the French began the attack, which was vigorously repelled by the English, who kept up a running fight the whole day, without suffering the enemy to gain the least advantage. At length, by a well-timed and happy deception, signals were thrown out, by the repeating-frigate, that a superior British fleet was in sight, on which the French thought it most prudent to sheer off.

But on the 23d of the same month this very squadron actually fell in with a superior fleet, under lord Bridport, off Port L'Orient. The engagement began early in the morning, and lasted till three in the afternoon, by which time three capital ships had struck their colors. The rest of the squadron, keeping close in shore, escaped into L'Orient. On the other hand, the French made, in the month of October, a capture of thirty merchantmen from the Mediterranean and Levant, with a ship of the line, constituting part of the convoy.

In the West Indies, notwithstanding the disparity of naval force, the French, after recovering
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ing the whole of Guadaloupe, attacked with success the fort of Tiburon in St. Domingo, and made themselves masters of St. Eustatius. Their celebrated leader, Victor Hugues, found means to excite such dangerous insurrections of the negroes and people of color in the English islands, that to attempt any other than defensive measures seemed wholly impracticable. St. Lucia, after a violent and bloody conflict with the insurgents, was reluctantly evacuated by the governor-general, Stewart; and Grenada, Dominique, and St. Vincent's, were preserved with great difficulty. What the sword spared were taken off by the ravages of the yellow-fever—a species of pestilential disorder which now for the first time appeared, at least in its present dreadful form, in those baneful climes; and the West Indies proved, as usual, the grave of the Europeans who were destined to that fatal service.

A war, originating in an accidental and trivial cause, was also commenced, on the part of the English government in Jamaica, against the Maroon Indians, a free nation inhabiting a mountainous tract in the interior of the island. As they were justly deemed very hostile and dangerous neighbours, the war was conducted in the dreadful spirit of extermination; and a new species of warfare, new at least to England,

land, was resorted to by the governor, lord Balcarras, who sent to Cuba for a corps of Spanish chasseurs, with *blood-hounds*, to hunt down these wretched Indians, the miserable remains of whom were, in the result, transported across the ocean, to perish amid the snows of Upper Canada.

In the month of October 1794, in consequence of the rapid progress of the French arms, an urgent application was made by the Dutch merchants to the British minister for leave to deposit their treasure and stores in England, without paying the duty *ad valorem* at the Custom-house. But Mr. Pitt replied, "That he could not consent to relax the revenue-laws in this instance, since it would only serve to propagate in this country *the groundless and chimerical apprehensions* entertained in Holland." On the 16th of January following, nevertheless, a royal proclamation was issued, permitting all goods, wares, merchandize, &c. belonging to the inhabitants of the United Provinces, to be landed in any of the ports of Great Britain, and to be secured in the warehouses of his majesty, &c. But the time was now past; the French were in possession of Holland, and no benefit could be derived from this tardy indulgence. A very abrupt termination, however, of these friendly dispositions took place on the
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part of the British government ; for, on the 19th of January, a new proclamation was issued, conformably to the ministerial pole-star of existing circumstances, abstracted from all consideration either prospective or retrospective—containing peremptory orders to seize whatever Dutch vessels were found in the ports of Great Britain ; in consequence of which, five ships of war were secured lying in Plymouth Sound, nine East-Indiamen, and about sixty sail of other vessels. On the 9th of February a third proclamation was published, authorizing the capture of all Dutch ships and property ; and letters of marque and reprisal were also, after an interval of some months, granted ; so that war against Holland was virtually declared : And, before the end of the summer, the famous settlement of the Cape surrendered to vice-admiral Elphinstone almost without resistance.

Although this conquest was calculated to flatter the vanity of the people of England, it is certain that every purpose of real commercial advantage was fully answered by it while in the possession of the Dutch. The cession of it therefore to this country would only entail upon Great Britain in perpetuity an useless expense, causing a fresh increase to the enormous influence of the crown, by the additional offices of which it would necessarily have the disposal.

It

It could not fail, likewise, to be remembered by the nations of Europe, that the original pretext for the war was the protection of the Dutch commonwealth, whose territory we had not hesitated to dismember, and of whose property we had now shown ourselves at least as strongly disposed as France to join in the pillage and the plunder. If the object of the war was the defence of Holland, whose most doubtful rights the court of London had affected to guard with such vigilant jealousy, the British ministers might consider themselves as of all statesmen the most unfortunate in being so soon compelled, not merely to relinquish their object, but to act upon a principle diametrically opposite to the grand and primary purpose of their own system of policy.

But of all the naval expeditions of the present summer, by far the most memorable was that which was attempted by the English government in aid of the inhabitants of La Vendée and La Loire. In order to exhibit a clear and connected view of this most disastrous enterprize, it will be requisite to take a general retrospect of the interior and domestic concerns of France. At the commencement of the year 1795, the rebellion in the ancient provinces of Anjou, Poitou, and Brittany, inhabited chiefly by a barbarous, ignorant, and bigoted race,
blindly

blindly attached to their priests, as barbarous and as ignorant as themselves, seemed, in consequence of the lenient measures adopted by the new government, nearly and happily suppressed. On the 3d of March a formal treaty was signed by general Canclaux with the chiefs of the Vendéans and Chouans, so named from their nocturnal depredations, who made their public entry into the city of Nantz, Charette himself being at the head of the procession, accompanied by the Conventional representatives—the people ceasing not to exclaim, “Vive la paix! Vive l’union!” It was however remarked, that Charette and his companions in arms appeared silent and melancholy, as if they already repented their engagements of submission to the republic.

Although the different parties into which the Convention was divided had coalesced, in order to effect the overthrow of the infamous Robespierre, no sooner had the common danger subsided, than the ancient and rooted animosity of the opposing factions began once more to display itself; and a violent struggle soon succeeded between those who, having acted with Robespierre, wished rather to mitigate than to abolish the atrocities of the revolutionary government—and those who were desirous not merely to establish a regular constitution, but to bring

bring those persons to punishment whom they regarded as the aiders and abettors of the Robespierrian tyranny. Since the restoration of the remaining representatives of the Gironde party, and the freedom of debate, the latter description of members had obtained a decided authority in the Convention. On the 27th of December, 1794, Merlin of Douay, reported from the united committees, that there was ground for examining into the conduct of Barrère, Billaud Varennes, Collot D'Herbois, and Vadier. A decree, instituting the proposed enquiry, immediately passed, and a commission of twenty-one members was appointed to report upon the facts imputed in the denunciations. Certainly it may well admit of a doubt, considering all circumstances, whether this procedure of the prevailing party in the Convention was the result of a pure and enlightened patriotism, or whether it was suggested in whole, or in part, by the base and criminal motives of personal hatred and revenge. The characters of some of the present Conventional leaders,—of Merlin, the author of the late report for instance—or of Tallien, the Mark Antony, as he has been styled, of the revolution, a man immersed in dissipation and pleasure,—did not, it must be acknowledged, countenance the opinion of any heroic exertion of virtue. The accusation of

Barrère

Barrère was very unpopular. That extraordinary man had been known on various occasions to employ his influence in alleviating the horrors of that merciless tyranny of which he was on other occasions the too well-known and active instrument. He had also the merit of joining, when the success was as yet very doubtful, the combination formed against the monster Robespierre; but, above all, the wonderfully energetic speech by which he encouraged and incited the people of France to rise as one man, and expel the hirelings of despots from the territories of the republic, resounded still in the ears of every genuine friend of liberty. The criminal violence of that committee of which he had been a member was absorbed in the recollection of the victories gained under its auspices; and now that so many sacrifices had been made to the majesty of offended justice, the public seemed willing that the errors and even the delinquencies of men placed in stations so perilous, and charged with the safety of their country, contending for its existence against a confederacy so potent and profligate, should, for the sake of their political merits, be for ever buried in oblivion.

On the 2d of March (1795) the report from the Committee of Twenty-one was made by M. Saladin, who declared that the accused had

exercised a despotic influence over the national representation, and that their guilt was manifest. The trial of the deputies was then fixed for the 22d of March, before which Vadier found means to escape in the disguise of a courier. A most able defence in behalf of the accused was made, not by themselves merely, but by Lindet and Carnot, two members of the same Committee of Safety, but who were exempted from the decree of accusation. They insisted with one voice, that, during the tyranny of Robespierre, they had all acted under compulsion, and that the individual who had dared to oppose the usurper must have been inevitably sacrificed. In the mean time, extreme dissatisfaction, fomented by the Jacobin party, was apparent amongst the lower classes of the Parisians, and, on the 1st of April, an immense and desperate multitude proceeded to the hall of the Convention, exclaiming, that they were the same men who had stood forward on behalf of the nation on the 14th of July, the 10th of August, and the 31st of May. They said they were resolved to be free, and that the accused patriots should not be sacrificed to the passions of the other party. For several successive hours the Convention remained imprisoned in the hall where they held their session, and were obliged to hear and to endure the insults and menaces
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of these lawless ruffians. But the reign of Jacobinism was short: the citizens assembled in arms at the sound of the tocsin, and marched in great force before evening towards the hall, furrounding it on all sides for the protection of the National Convention. A decree was passed to punish the agitators of these disorders, and Dumont observed, “that all these tumults were excited only to prevent the trials of the three great criminals. Let us (said he) abolish the pain of death, but cast out these monsters from our society.” It was accordingly decreed, that Barrère, Collot, and Billaud Varennes, should be transported to Guiana, and that they should be sent thither immediately. General Pichegru being at this time in Paris, was appointed by the Convention to the command of the armed force of that great city. By his authority and exertions tranquillity was soon restored, and the occasion embraced to arrest divers other leaders of the Mountain or Jacobin faction, who were sent to the castle of Ham in Picardy, amongst whom were Choudieu and Duhem; and the list of the proscribed was afterwards increased by a large addition of names—Thuriot, Levasseur, and Cambon, being of the number.

Though the conduct of the Convention might upon the whole seem praise-worthy, it could not be concealed that they punished the abuses

of arbitrary power upon arbitrary principles, uniting in themselves the discordant characters of accusers, witnesses, and judges; and the establishment of a regular constitution of government became more and more the anxious object of the general wish. Before the end of April, a committee of eleven was nominated for the important purpose of organizing a constitutional code for the consideration of the Conventional Assembly, consisting of Thibeaudeau, Lepaux, Languinais, Boissy D'Anglas, Louvet, Daunon, and five others of less note.

The trial of the infamous Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, and the ex-judges and jurors of the late Revolutionary Tribunal, was, from various causes, deferred till the 8th of May of the present year. The greatest crimes and atrocities being clearly proved against this abominable court of judicature, amounting to an actual and complete subversion of all public justice, and to the substitution in its room of a system of judicial assassination,—the wretch Fouquier, and fifteen others, who occupied the stations either of judges or jurors of this detestable tribunal, were executed the following morning, amidst the execrations of the people.

At this period the Convention concluded (May 15) not only a definitive treaty of peace, but of alliance offensive and defensive, with
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the Dutch republic, whose territories, considered as those of a vanquished foe, had been treated by the French with remarkable lenity and moderation. Indeed, the Convention had from the first distinguished between the stadtholder and the people of the Seven United Provinces; regarding the latter as enemies only so far as they entered into the views and measures of the former, which it was notorious that a vast majority of them disapproved and detested. The articles of the treaty were upon the whole very equitable and even generous; but equity and generosity proved eventually, in this case, as in most others, the best policy. The Convention acknowledged and guaranteed the independence of the republic, and also the abolition of the stadtholderate; and they agreed to make no peace with any country in which Holland should not be included. All the arsenals and magazines were restored; and, as the operations of the war were for the future to be carried on in concert, the Dutch government was even allowed the privilege of sending a deputy who should sit and have a deliberative voice in the Committee of Public Welfare at Paris. All the Dutch territories were restored without reserve, excepting that part of Dutch Flanders which lies to the south of the Maese—Maastricht, Venlo, and their dependencies. And, at the

epoch of a general peace, cession shall be made to the United Provinces, of portions of territory equivalent in extent to the cessions made on their part, and in the situation most convenient to the republic.

The exiled deputies of the Jacobin faction had embarked on board different vessels, in order to proceed on their voyage to Guiana ; but Cambon and Thuriot having, unfortunately for the country, effected their escape, found means to excite, upon their secret arrival in Paris, another and more dangerous insurrection than the former ; previous to which, seditious placards were posted up in various parts of the city, where a scarcity approaching to famine at this time prevailed, prefaced with the alarming and paradoxical principle, “ that insurrection is the most sacred duty of the people.” Early on the 20th of May, the *tocsin* was sounded in the faux-bourg St. Antoine, and the *générale* beaten. On the meeting of the Convention, a decree passed, ordering all the citizens to their respective sections, outlawing every person who should head the insurgents, and declaring the sitting permanent. But, in defiance of these injunctions, a vast multitude surrounded, as before, the hall of the Convention, which was ordered to be cleared, and the gendarmes were summoned to protect the persons of the deputies, and a
severe

severe conflict took place between the soldiery and the insurgents. Loud cries were heard in the environs of the hall, clamoring for bread and the constitution of 1793. At length, general Hoche was appointed to the command of the whole armed force of Paris, but the disorders in the hall of sitting still continued; and, in the midst of the tumult, one of the national representatives, Ferrand, was killed by repeated strokes of a sabre, in one of the corridors, his head being afterwards severed from the body, and brought into the hall of the Convention upon a pike. Boissy-D'Anglas, the president, remained firm and immovable during this scene of violence and uproar—the Convention resembling more a camp of armed men than an assembly of legislators. But a great number of the members of the Gironde having gradually left the hall, the Mountain or Jacobin party, finding themselves the majority, took advantage of this moment of consternation and terror to repeal several decrees which had been at different times levelled against them, amid the enthusiastic acclamations of the populace. This usurped authority, was of short duration—the military, accompanied by a great number of citizens in arms, making their appearance in great force, on which the multitude made their escape through doors and windows with great

precipitation. The pretended decrees of repeal were then, on the motion of Bourdon de l'Oise, themselves repealed, or rather annulled, and several of the Jacobin members concerned in the transaction put under arrest.

These shocking disorders, though suppressed, were not extinguished; for, on the next day, the Convention was again surrounded by the populace in the like manner; and cannon being planted in the Place of the Caroussel, a deputation was reluctantly admitted from the insurgents. To the demands of this deputation the president was compelled to return a favorable answer, and to the subsequent disgrace of giving the fraternal embrace to the members of it, who were also invited to the honors of the sitting. On the third day, the Convention, amidst apprehensions and alarms, resumed the exercise of their functions. But, on the fourth, the inhabitants of the fauxbourgs were once more preparing to attack the hall of the Convention, when the citizens of Paris again rose in defence of the national representatives, every avenue to the Tuilleries being filled with armed citizens. The Conventional Assembly, thus supported, took courage, and declared the fauxbourg St. Antoine in a state of rebellion, and ordered the sections of Paris, sustained by the regular military force, to march instantly against them. The
wretched

wretched and deluded populace seeing themselves invested on every side, and exposed to an immediate cannonade or bombardment, at length surrendered at discretion. A decree of the Convention then passed for disarming the Jacobins; the use of pikes was abolished, and the cannon of the several sections delivered up by order of the Convention. Several arrests and executions of the leaders of this dangerous insurrection followed immediately the final suppression of it; order was every where restored, and the flaming Mountain was once more overthrown. Its famous chiefs, Collot D'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and Barrère, were remanded back to take their trial; but the two former had already failed, and Barrère only remained, who was committed to close imprisonment. The insurrection of the Jacobins in Paris depended upon, and was concerted with, various others in the different departments. At Lyons, at Toulon, and Marseilles, that furious faction made efforts, with all the violence of despair, to repossess themselves of the power they had so infamously abused, and so deservedly lost; but they were without much difficulty defeated. At Lyons, the re-action was terrible—the chief agents and instruments of Collot D'Herbois having been massacred in prison; and, in other towns,

towns, vengeance had taken place of law, though not perhaps of justice.

During these commotions in Paris and the southern provinces, the chiefs of the revolters in the departments of La Vendée and La Loire, so recently reconciled to the French government, again manifested a disposition to resume their arms, which they had with extreme reluctance consented ever to lay down. It is however probable that their submission, though involuntary, was sincere in the first instance, and that they were stimulated by the intrigues of the emigrants resident in England, and by the magnificent promises of the court of London, which, engaging to second their renewed efforts by a powerful descent upon the French coast, covered by a grand naval armament, fatally deluded these devoted victims of an interested and foreign ambition to their utter and remediless ruin. The vigilance of the deputies on mission in La Vendée, in the month of May, detected the correspondence which these persons carried on with the emigrants in England, and through them with the English ministry; and Comartin, with six other chiefs, were arrested on the evidence of intercepted letters. At the latter end of the same month, the Chouans began to embody in considerable force; and, while the roy-

alists

alists were forming arrangements in the interior of France, preparations were making in England for an invasion on the coast of Brittany, in which a very large body of the emigrants was to be employed. The person appointed to the command of this expedition was a M. Puisfaye, a man who had been very unsteady in his political attachments, and whose character stood impeached at the same time for want of courage and want of honesty. The second in command was M. D'Hervilly, an officer formerly in high rank in the French king's gardes-du-corps, and equally so in military reputation and general esteem. It was well understood that this romantic expedition, planned by M. Puisfaye, in concert with the English cabinet, was by no means approved by M. D'Hervilly, who deemed nevertheless his honor engaged to embark himself and his fortunes in this wild attempt. The count de Sombreuil also, a young man of uncommon talents, and of the most amiable disposition, was solicited by ministers, and consented, not without great reluctance, to take a part in this Quixotic enterprize.

In the beginning of June the advanced guard of the army, consisting of between 4 and 5,000 men, chiefly emigrants, were embarked in transports, under the convoy of a squadron commanded by sir John Borlase Warren. Previous

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to their departure, many thousand copies of a pastoral letter, written by the bishop of Dol, who also sailed in the fleet, were dispersed throughout the disaffected departments. It was printed in London; and amongst many assertions equally abhorrent from good sense and rational policy were to be found in it the following marked expressions—"Que la même que DIEU est independant par lieu même et par sa nature, de même aussi le Roi est independant a l'égard de ses sujets, et sous les ordres de DIEU qui seul peut lui demander compte de l'usage qu'il fait de son autorité." After being sixteen days at sea, the fleet anchored between the Isle Dieu and that of Noirmoutier. The army of Charette was then very near; but it did not suit the views of M. Puisaye to join that chieftain, under whom he must have acted a comparatively insignificant part. On the 25th of June the fleet anchored in Quiberon-Bay. M. D'Hervilly went on shore by himself, and had some conversation with the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Carnac; after which he determined that it would not be for the advantage of the service to make the descent in this place. But being over-ruled by the united opinions of sir John Warren and M. Puisaye, on the evening of the 26th the boats were manned, and at break of day the troops made
good

good their landing near the village. Two or three hundred republican militia, assembled on the beach, at first made a shew of resistance, but they were easily routed, and fled towards Aurai—great demonstrations of joy being made for this success in the village and its vicinity. Large bodies of men, habited like peasants, came from different parts to see the army, pretending to partake in this premature triumph. To these persons the most profuse distribution of arms, of ammunition, and other necessaries, was made, without any certificate of loyalty, or drawing any line of discrimination. In this way 28,000 musquets were said to be given, or rather thrown away, and other articles to an incredible amount.

The emigrant army was soon distributed into quarters of cantonment on shore, where they continued till the 2d of July. In this interval they were joined by some thousands of Chouans, who could not be restrained within any rules of discipline, and whose mode of warfare was wholly desultory and capricious. They attacked only by surprize, and dispersed whenever they were themselves assaulted by the regular troops, however great the disparity in number. After much altercation between Puitsaye and D'Hervilly, it was at length determined to attack the fort of Quiberon, garrisoned by

by 600 republican troops, which surrendered with slight resistance ; after which a resolution was taken to remove the army within the peninsula and fort, still retaining Carnac as an advanced post. This was, however, immediately forced by the republican troops, now collecting in great numbers, under the command of general Hoche, and the Anglo-emigrant army was shut up in the peninsula of Quiberon. From this period to the 15th the republicans were employed in constructing the most formidable works on the heights of St. Barbe, and every considerate person in the English army, now consisting of 12,000 men of all descriptions, was convinced of the necessity of a retreat. On the contrary, however, the remaining provisions and stores were landed from the transports upon the peninsula, as if it were a station perfectly tenable. On the night of the 15th a *sortie* was determined upon, and a detachment, consisting of near half the troops fit for service, marched to attack the entrenchments of St. Barbe. The republican troops were well prepared to receive them. After a feint of resistance they fell back to their entrenched camp, pursued by the English and emigrant troops in confidence of victory: but on a sudden a masked battery of grape-shot was opened upon them, which did inconceivable execution. Almost in a moment the
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whole army of the assailants was thrown into confusion, which in a very short time was converted into an absolute flight ; and had not the fire from the British shipping stopped the progress of the republican columns, scarcely a man would have escaped. In this disastrous affair M. D'Hervilly was severely wounded, and from this time despair seized upon the minds of all. The emigrant regiments being recruited from the French prisons in England, great numbers had entered merely with the view of regaining their native country ; and the desertions, which were from the first exceedingly prevalent, now increased to such a degree, that a single regiment, between the 15th and 20th of July, lost nearly 150 men.

During these transactions M. de Puisaye seemed to attend merely to his personal gratifications, living in all the state and luxury that his situation, as commander, admitted of ; and as he was from the first the contempt, he now became the detestation, of the army, who, since the misfortune of M. D'Hervilly, had fixed their eyes upon the young and gallant Sombreuil as the only man in whom they could place their confidence. On the night of the 20th a dreadful storm blew from the west, accompanied with a deluge of rain ; and the men who occupied the advanced posts were employed in seeking
shelter

shelter from the inclemency of the weather, rather than in guarding against the approach of an enemy. In the mean time the republicans, conducted by a number of intelligent deserters, passing along the low and level shore of the peninsula, climbed the rocks without being discovered, and attacked the fort before there arose the least suspicion of danger. M. Puisaye, on the first alarm, after directing M. Sombreuil, as that brave and unfortunate officer himself tells us, *to wait his orders*, took the singularly prudent precaution of hastening on board a ship which he secured for his retreat, abandoning his followers to their fate. Great numbers of the emigrants, amongst whom was the regiment of D'Hervilly, grounded their arms, and exclaimed "*Vive la République!*" The rest, animated by the example of the young Sombreuil, maintained an unequal and dreadful conflict. The Emigrants, English, and Chouans, in the fort, exceeded 10,000 strong, a vast majority of whom were either killed or taken prisoners; although the number of the assailants is stated at no more than 3,000 men. A few individuals passed in open boats, through a tempestuous sea, to the English squadron lying off the bay.

Amongst the wretched captives who knew the fate which awaited them, were heard many voices pouring out execrations against those who
had

had sent them thither in order to be sacrificed. The excellent Sombreuil, the bigoted but respectable bishop of Dol, with divers of his clergy who accompanied him, with most of the emigrant officers, were tried by a military tribunal, and shot; but with regard to the privates great lenity was shewn. Ten thousand stand of arms were taken, and magazines and clothing for 40,000 men: six ships that arrived the evening before the action, laden with rum, brandy, and provisions, also fell into the hands of the republicans. Thus ended the visionary project of the British ministry for penetrating to the city of Paris on this side of the country. So long as La Vendée, and the neighbouring departments, were almost universally in arms against the republican government,—so long as their numerous armies, inspired with an heroic and invincible courage, determined to defend what to their darkened and deluded minds appeared to be the cause of God and their country,—no attempt was made on the part of the British ministers to succour and relieve them: but, as soon as their cause became utterly hopeless, they were by the most insidious arts inveigled to incur fresh dangers, and to expose themselves to the reproach of having violated their recent and solemn engagements; and thousands of their emigrant countrymen were

sent to co-operate with them in this project of insanity and wickedness. The chiefs of the revolt, Charette and Stofflet, carried on for some months after this a desultory and desperate warfare, but were at length completely vanquished, and received the punishment of their demerits, —the former, with his dying breath, venting curses upon the cabinet of England. When we consider coolly, if indeed it were possible coolly to consider, the thousands of lives wantonly, barbarously, and infamously sacrificed in this horrible expedition, what shall the pen of History say of the man who, at this period, guided and directed the counsels of Britain? Could so callous a heart, and so cold an imagination, be awakened to a just sense of its deep and inexpressible guilt, hosts of bloody spectres would haunt his solitude, his ears would be appalled with visionary shrieks, the very air would utter loud laments, and he would be doomed to feel all the tortures of remorse, all the unutterable agonies of despair*.

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* In remarking upon the conduct of the present war, the natural sagacity of Mr. Burke, the flaming and furious advocate of it, and who, in discussing the causes and the objects of it, is almost uniformly the slave of prejudice and passion, conspicuously discovers itself. He observes truly, "That a vast army might have been maintained in La Vendée at a far less expense than has been thrown away upon tropical adventures.

We

In the review of the interior state of France, it is necessary to mention, that the infant Capet, only son of the late king, expired June 9, (1795) in the prison of the Temple, where he had been confined since the fatal 10th of August, 1792. His habit was sickly, and his ill health was no doubt increased by the want of proper exercise; but it does not appear that he suffered under any peculiar harshness of treatment. The princess, his sister and companion, was in a short time released, being exchanged with

We should have had an ally in the heart of the country, who, at one time, would have added 80,000 men to whatever force we had sent thither, all animated by principle, by enthusiasm, and vengeance,—motives which secured them to the cause in a very different manner from some of those allies whom we subsidized with millions. Warring there, we should have led our arms to the capital of wrong; an impregnable rampart would have been formed between the enemy and his naval power. We are probably the only nation who have declined to act against an enemy when it might have been done in his own country; and who, having an armed, a powerful, and a long-victorious ally in that country, declined all effectual co-operation, and suffered him to perish for want of support. Had we brought the main of our force to bear upon that quarter, all the operations of the British and Imperial crowns would have been combined; the war would have had system, correspondence, and a certain direction: but, as the war has been pursued, the operations of the two crowns have not the smallest degree of mutual bearing or relation." *Thoughts on a Regicide Peace*, p. 155.—Fortunately for France, the counsels of this Ahitophel were neglected; for which he would, in the opinion of many, have done well to follow the example of his prototype.

the court of Vienna for the deputies delivered up by the treachery of Dumouriez, and for the two ambassadors, Semonville and Maret, who had been basely seized on neutral ground, contrary to the law of nations, and detained prisoners by the Austrian government.

The plan of the new constitution was presented by the Committee of Eleven, on the 23d of June, the report being made by Boissy D'Anglas. After much discussion, and various alterations, the Constitutional Act was, on the 23d of August, declared complete, and referred to the primary assemblies for their approbation and acceptance. The principal features of this constitution were these:—The legislative power was vested in two councils, chosen through the medium of the electoral assemblies; the one consisting of 500, the other of 250 members. To the former, styled the Legislative Council, belonged the proposing,—to the latter, styled the Senate or Council of Elders, the confirming of laws; and no person could be a member of the senate who had not completed his fortieth year—One third of the members of each council to be re-chosen every year. The executive power was delegated to a **DIRECTORY** of five members, to be partially renewed by the election of one member in regular rotation. The mode of election was for the Council of

Five

Five Hundred to make out, by secret scrutiny, a list of ten persons, from which the senate by secret scrutiny also should select one. The judicial power to reside in judges of department and district, chosen by the electoral assemblies, and an high tribunal of appeal and *capation*, or annulment, established by the same mode of election for the whole kingdom. This was certainly the outline of a free and noble constitution; but the beneficial effect of it was entirely counteracted by one egregious and fatal error. The two councils were virtually rendered permanent, the Directory not being invested with the essentially necessary power of convening and proroguing those formidable bodies agreeably to their discretion: and as the ministers of the executive government were, by another error of great though secondary magnitude, not admitted to seats in the legislative assemblies, an opposition of interests was instantly and inevitably created. The councils were irresistibly tempted to encroach upon the functions of the executive power; and in effect two distinct governments were established by the same act. To this may be added, that the executive authority was much weakened by being committed to five persons, between whom differences and divisions might be expected to arise,

instead of a single individual, under whatever name.

On the 5th Fructidor (August 22), previous to the transmission of the Constitutional Act to the primary assemblies, the Convention decreed that the elective bodies should, in appointing the deputies to the legislative body, choose two-thirds from amongst the members of the present Convention ; and by another decree it was enacted, that, in default of such election, the Convention should fill up the vacancies themselves. These decrees formed a curious contrast to that famous self-denying ordinance of the Constituent Assembly, which prohibited the re-election of *any* of its members. The present Convention were probably impressed very strongly with the recollection of the ill effects resulting from that romantic though noble act of disinterestedness, and wandered into the opposite and less pardonable extreme. The decrees now past were obviously liable to the imputation of ambition and selfishness ; but they were unquestionably deemed by many politically expedient, from the predominance of Jacobinism in various parts of the country, and from the apprehension that, in consequence of the well-known activity and address of that fallen though still formidable party in popular elections, a majority of the
Jacobine

Jacobine or Mountain faction would be returned members of the new legislature. It would, however, as the event proved, have been better and wiser to have acted upon the broad and simple principles of universal liberty; for the Jacobins availed themselves with such dexterity of the discontent occasioned by this unexpected and unconstitutional restraint upon the public freedom of choice, that the whole nation was thrown into a state of confusion scarcely short of a temporary anarchy. The forty-eight sections of Paris, who had usually given the tone to the nation at large, while they un-animously accepted the Constitutional Act, as firmly rejected the law for the re-election of the two-thirds. In the majority of primary assemblies throughout the country, the decrees of the Assembly, having been transmitted to the departments with the Constitutional Act, were, in conjunction with the act, accepted and confirmed, notwithstanding the violence of the opposing party. But the sections of Paris, who had so often, in their outrageous proceedings, set all law and all government at defiance, after some insolent and unavailing applications to the Convention to rescind the obnoxious decrees, proclaimed openly that means more forcible than mere remonstrances were necessary to bring the Convention to reason, and that they

ought to be driven from their seats with ignominy. Several of the sections had already proceeded to open and daring acts of hostility. On the 12th Vendemaire (October 4), general Menou, commander of the military force of Paris, was sent to the chief place of their assembly, to disarm and disperse the insurgents: but this officer executed his commission so little to the satisfaction of the Convention, that he was severely reprehended, and Barras appointed in his room. In the dead of night the cry was heard—TO ARMS! TO ARMS! LIBERTY OR DEATH! and at the early dawn of day, the sections having drawn out their forces, intending to march them, as usual, to the hall of the Convention, a regular and bloody battle took place; and the different avenues of the Tuilleries being planted with cannon, great slaughter was made amongst the insurgents, who repeatedly rallied, and returned to the charge with incredible obstinacy; but, being overpowered, they were, at the close of the day, and not till then, driven by the Conventional troops from all their posts, with the loss, as some accounts state, of five hundred, and others of no less than two thousand, men.

The extreme violence of the opposition to the decrees of the Convention undoubtedly arose from the temporary junction, on this, as on other occasions,

occasions, of the royalist and Jacobine parties, aided by many well-meaning but mistaken persons, indignant at the flagrant violation of those abstract principles of liberty, which they attended to much more than their practical consequences, being thus in perpetual danger of sacrificing the end to the means. General principles of liberty are valuable only because they are generally beneficial: necessity may enforce, and then it will justify, a deviation, in particular cases, from those general principles;—if real, it is the plea of the patriot; if pretended, of the tyrant. Although the necessity of the decrees of Fructidor might previously be regarded as doubtful, yet, when once passed, all resistance to them by force was in the highest degree unjustifiable. These decrees might be productive of great national utility, in preventing the political evils too likely to result from a sudden transition of power; and no real danger to the state could, with any shadow of reason, be apprehended from them, when it was considered that one-third of the members of the Convention were to vacate their seats immediately, and another third at the expiration of one year after the establishment of the new constitution; and that the Convention, as now constituted, had governed France with glory and success since
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the period of the fall of the tyrant Robespierre *. The insurrection was confined to Paris, for some of the neighbouring communes were disarmed as they were on their march to join the sections. The Convention, now triumphant, declared that the majority of votes in the departments were in favor of the laws of Fructidor.

Alarmed, notwithstanding, at the spirit and strength of the opposition they had just overcome, many of the members seemed well inclined to postpone the establishment of the new constitution, and to continue for a certain time the revolutionary system. Some were even suspected of an intention to revive the reign of terror; and a committee of five members, M. Tallien being of the number, was actually appointed to consult on what measures should be adopted to *save the country*; but the consternation of the Assembly gradually subsided, and the patriotic boldness of a single individual had a great and

* It was affirmed at the time, in divers of the Paris journals connected with the government, particularly in that of Louvet, "that the cabinet of St. James's was deeply concerned in these insurrections, and that Mr. Pitt himself was the chief conspirator."—The declaration of the younger Jenkinson in the house of commons, April 10, 1794, uncontradicted by Mr. Pitt, gives at least some color and countenance to this charge. "It is (said Mr. Jenkinson) the duty of his majesty's ministers to assist *every party* in France that should arise to overturn the present government, if it deserve the name."

happy

happy effect : Thibeaudeau, the member alluded to, in an indignant speech, with energy protested that he would perish rather than survive the new tyranny which was preparing for his country. He demanded that the new commission should be immediately broken, and that the constitution should be the law of the land on the day appointed. This declaration, seconded by Lepaux, roused the Convention to a just sense of what they owed to their fame and to their duty : the report of the commission for the permanence of the Assembly was rejected, and the commission itself annulled.

This Assembly terminated its sittings very nobly ; for the last decrees which it passed were for the abolition of the punishment of death at the return of peace, and for granting a general amnesty, though limited perhaps by too many exceptions : and on the 27th of October, (1795) the day appointed by law, the president declared that “ the NATIONAL CONVENTION WAS DISSOLVED.” Such was the extraordinary merits of an assembly, whose merits and demerits, whose glorious acts and whose criminal excesses, will long be the theme of history. With a daring hand she signed the death-warrant of the successor of a hundred kings, and broke the sceptre which the superstition of fourteen centuries had consecrated. Standing greatly alone against
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a confederacy of crowned despots, she brought her armed myriads into the field, and compelled her enemies to flee with shame and confusion from the land which they had, in their vain and foolish imaginations, already conquered, and of which they were eager to divide the spoils. But the magnanimity of this assembly was sullied by licentiousness and contaminated by cruelty: their actions will excite the admiration of every age; and a distant posterity will perhaps pardon, while it deplores, their frailties and their faults.

On the meeting of the new legislature, the first object was to elect the five members of the executive directory; and such was the impression made by the violent and lawless proceedings, that the majority of the two councils were unfortunately disposed to elect "ardent spirits," more distinguished by their courage and vigor than their wisdom and moderation, and who had formerly been accounted of, or inclined to, the Mountain party, though adverse to the tyranny of Robespierre, and friendly to the establishment of a free constitution. The highest upon the list was however Reveillière Lepaux, of the profession of the law, one of the Gironde deputies proscribed in consequence of the revolution of the 31st of May 1793. The next was Reubel, also of the law, who had lately been employed in negotiating the treaty with Holland.

Holland. Letourneur de la Manche was the third; he had distinguished himself as a man of ability; his character was fair; and he had, previous to the revolution, acted as an officer of engineers. The fourth was Barras, formerly a viscount, and bred up from early life in the military service: he had the recent merit of suppressing the late dangerous insurrection; and, in the preceding year, had also conducted with success the Conventional arms against the late desperate efforts of the Robespierrean faction. The last upon the list was the celebrated Carnot, minister of war: he had been of the infamous Committee of Safety, during the reign of terror; but he had entirely confined his attention to the business of his peculiar department, which he had conducted with such splendid success, that it was said of him, almost without a figure, "that he had organised Victory, and rendered her permanent."—Carnot was chosen upon a second ballot; the profound and philosophic Sieyes, who was first nominated, with his characteristic caution, declining to take upon him the office. Next to Mirabeau, Sieyes was, by the most discerning judges, accounted the greatest and rarest genius which the revolution had *as yet* produced: he saw the radical defects of the new constitution too clearly to be willingly concerned in the execution of it, and reserved himself

himself for more favorable and fortunate times. The palace of the Luxembourg was appointed for the residence of the executive power, and henceforth took the name of the Directorial Palace.

The miscellaneous occurrences of the present year, in relation to England, still remain to be narrated. On the 19th of November, 1794, a treaty of amity and commerce was signed by Mr. Jay and lord Grenville between the crown of Great Britain and the United States of America. This treaty, containing twenty-eight articles, was framed with remarkable caution, accuracy, and ability; and on the part of England, at least, it was a very salutary and laudable measure: but it established certain provisions so injurious to France, that it may justly be doubted, whether, on the part of America, the measure was either just, considering the treaty of alliance subsisting with that nation, and faithfully observed by it,—or politic, looking forward to the effects of the resentment it was calculated to excite. The French, whose commerce with the West Indies had been, since the commencement of the war, carried on chiefly through the medium of American vessels, saw with indignation the frequent seizures of their property by the English cruizers, in violation of the fundamental principle upon which the famous

mous armed neutrality, during the last war, was founded, viz. that neutral bottoms make neutral goods. This principle had been recognized by France in her treaties of commerce, amity, and alliance, with America ; and they now justified their occasional deviations from it only by the necessity of following the example set by the English, who were upon the whole, as being masters of the sea, much more profited by the breach than the observance of this liberal and equitable maxim. Hitherto, however, America had avowed, in the strongest terms, her adherence to the grand principle of the armed neutrality ; protesting against, and, as far as she was able, resisting the violation of it by either of the belligerent powers. But by the 12th, 17th, and 18th articles of the treaty concluded by Mr. Jay, the States of America conceded, if not the right, at least the exercise of the right, claimed by Great Britain during the war, and for two years after ;—coldly in respect to France, and complaisantly with regard to England, declaring, “ that at the expiration of this term the two contracting parties will endeavour further to regulate their commerce in this respect according to the situation in which his majesty the king of Great Britain may then find himself with respect to the West Indies ;” and, till the arrival of this uncertain period, even
provisions

provisions are declared liable to seizure, on paying the value of the articles, with the additional expence of demurrage.

In return for this great concession, the court of London was profuse in her favors and acknowledgments. By the second article she agreed to evacuate all the forts within the boundary-line assigned to the United States by the treaty of 1783. By the twelfth, the Americans were allowed to trade to the British West-India islands in their own vessels, not exceeding seventy tons burden; and the thirteenth admitted them to a free participation of the British commerce in the East Indies. It was indeed by a mockery of friendship to France declared in the twenty-fifth article, that nothing in this treaty shall be construed contrary to former and existing public treaties with other sovereigns or states; but as the spirit of this treaty was obviously and altogether in favor of the English, this affected adherence to the letter of the treaty with France was calculated only to add contempt to their resentment. The forts given up by Great Britain to America, by the second article of the treaty now concluded, were Niagara, Oswego, Detroit, Michillimakinac, and Miami, constructed in 1793; all of great importance for the command of the lakes, or restraining the inroads of the northern tribes of Indians.

Indians. When the treaty reached America, it excited great astonishment, and no less contention. It was considered, by a great and respectable part of the continent, as an entire dereliction of amity with France, and as amounting to little less than a virtual declaration of war against her; laying unavoidably the foundation of great political animosity in America, by dividing the people of the United States into two great and hostile factions, one attached to the Gallic, and the other to the Anglican interest. When it was submitted by the president, agreeably to the forms of the constitution, to the senate, for their approbation, vehement debates took place; and at length, tempted no doubt by the reciprocal concessions and advantages offered by England, the ratification of it was voted by a small majority. It has been upon high authority asserted, “that the president, general Washington, on perceiving the treaty to be so little conformable to the instructions given to Mr. Jay, and so little consistent with what he deemed to be the interests of the United States, was long before he could prevail upon himself to present it to the senate for their sanction*.” When that sanction was given, however, he did not think it expedient or pro-

* Travels of the Duc de Liancourt in North America.

per to withhold his own; and the treaty was, in the end, formally ratified.

In the month of February, 1795, a treaty of defensive alliance was concluded with the imperial crown of Russia, containing some extraordinary stipulations, apparently not very beneficial to the interests of Great Britain. By the fourth and principal article of this treaty, if the king of Great Britain is attacked or disturbed by any other power, her imperial majesty shall immediately send to his assistance ten thousand infantry and two thousand horse. On the other hand, if Russia is attacked by any European power, *even in Asia*, Great Britain shall immediately send to her assistance a squadron of twelve ships of the line, which shall remain in the Baltic from the beginning of May to the commencement of the month of October. The idea of sending a fleet to the assistance of Russia in the Baltic, in case the Turks or Tartars should invade her immensely-remote provinces bordering upon the Euxine or the Caspian, is so extravagant, that the real meaning of the empress, probably, was merely to take advantage of the presence of an English squadron in the north, in order to improve her own marine by imitating the example, and habituating the Russians to the practice of the skilful manœuvres, of the English ships and seamen.

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It must not be omitted, that a session of parliament was held in the month of February at Corte, the ancient capital of Corsica, by sir Gilbert Elliot, the viceroy of that newly-acquired kingdom. His excellency communicated to them his majesty's gracious intentions to take upon himself the whole charges of their military establishment; and also declared, that they would have the benefit of a great naval force, without any expense. By his majesty's taking upon *himself* the charges and expense of the Corsican establishment, the viceroy doubtless meant no more than that his majesty would pledge himself for his faithful commons at Westminster: though, by the Constitutional Act, the island of Corsica was no more under subjection to Great Britain, *i. e.* to the British legislature, than to the Great Mogul. The viceroy, therefore, had reason on his side when he exhorted this assembly "to reflect on the advantages which they enjoyed, and which he truly observed were the exclusive privileges of the Corsican nation:"—there being certainly no other example in history of any government taking upon itself to defray the expenses of another government, which asserted, and was in actual possession of, the most perfect independency. His excellency also, with true Catholic devotion, informed the legislative body, "that a

settlement of their religious establishment had been reserved for them, in concert with his holiness the Pope." At the close of this gracious speech, his excellency piously prayed, "that God would so bless and enlighten their counsels, as to render this first parliament of Corsica an example to all succeeding ones"—A petition lost in empty air long before it reached the pen of the recording angel.

Early in the present year (1795), lord Amherst retiring full of years and honors from public life, his royal highness the duke of York was appointed commander-in-chief and field-marshal-general of the forces of Great Britain. The duke of Richmond was removed from his post of master of the ordnance, in which he was succeeded by earl, recently created marquis, Cornwallis; and sir William Howe was nominated, in the place of the latter nobleman, governor and lieutenant of the Tower of London.

About the same time a petition was presented to the house of commons from the city of London, in common-hall assembled, deploring in strong terms the disastrous effects of the present war. "Your petitioners conceive (say they) that none of the ends proposed by the present war either have been, or appear likely to be, obtained, although it has been carried on at an unprecedented expence to this country.

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Your petitioners, from their present view of public measures, presume humbly but firmly to express to this honorable house their decided conviction that the principle upon which the war appears now to be carried on neither is nor can be essential to the prosperity, the liberty, or the glory of the British empire. Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that this honorable house, disclaiming all right of interfering in the internal concerns of France, will be pleased to take such measures as they in their wisdom shall think proper for the purpose of promoting a speedy peace."—The cities of York, Norwich, and some others, followed the example of London; but these petitions were not sufficiently general to produce any very sensible effect; and counter-petitions were obtained by the partizans of ministry, in which a confident reliance was expressed on the *wisdom* of the government to set on foot, at the proper period, such negotiations as might lead to the restoration of peace.

In the month of July some serious riots, continuing for several successive days, took place in London, occasioned by the discovery of some shameful practices which had been long prevalent, but which were subsequently and effectually reformed by the excellent regulations of the present royal commander-in-chief, of invei-

gling men into his majesty's service. Emboldened by the little opposition they met with, the populace, who had long shewn a marked aversion to Mr. Pitt, conceiving, upon no rational ground, that he had authorized or countenanced these abuses, repaired to his house in Downing-street, the windows of which they demolished, and were proceeding to further violence, when they were informed that the affrighted minister had escaped by the park-gate to the Horse-Guards; and on the arrival of the military they were, not without some difficulty, at length dispersed.

The ridiculous business of the *Pop-gun Plot*, as it was generally and ludicrously styled, was revived in the autumn of this year; and one Crossfield, a surgeon, who had been for some time a prisoner in the town of Brest, was apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in this dark conspiracy. It appeared, on examination before the privy-council, that this man, whose intercourse with the other plotters, Higgins, Smith, and Le Maitre, was proved by the testimony of the infamous informer Upton, had boasted (probably hoping to ingratiate himself with the Jacobins with whom he was surrounded, and contrary to truth) that he had been accused of being concerned in this affair; and affected to drop some mysterious expressions relating

lating to it. Crossfield was upon this sent, by warrant of the privy-council, to the Tower; and Higgins, Smith, and Le Maitre, were re-committed, and at length brought to trial; when, upon a full investigation of the evidence on the part of the crown, which amounted to nothing more than some absurd and contradictory hear-says, the prisoners were acquitted by verdicts which gave universal satisfaction. It is probable, or at least possible, that some foolish and flighty discourse had passed amongst them as to the practicability of succeeding in such a romantic and criminal attempt.

Great apprehensions had been excited in the course of the year by divers assemblages of the populace, convened, very improperly, if not illegally, by the Corresponding Society, which still regularly continued its meetings. The most remarkable of these was on the 26th of October, in a field near Copenhagen House, in the vicinity of the village of Pancras. The number here convened did not, as was supposed, amount to less than 40,000 persons, whose conduct, notwithstanding, upon this occasion, was decent and orderly. But where multitudes are collected, mischief may always be reasonably feared. Some of the orators of the society harangued the populace; and an address and remonstrance to his majesty being unanimously voted, they dispersed peaceably to their respective homes.

BOOK XVI.

Session of Parliament, 1795—6. Insults offered to the King. Debates upon the Address. Treason and Sedition Bills. Prosecution of Mr. Reeves. Mr. Whitbread's Bill to fix the Price of Labor. Extravagant Loan of the Minister. Message from the King announcing the Re-establishment of regular Government in France. Pacific Motion of Mr. Grey. Motion by Mr. Wilberforce for the Repeal of the Slave-Trade. Motion by Mr. Grey for a Committee of Enquiry. Second Loan of Mr. Pitt. Financial Resolutions moved by Mr. Grey. Motion by the Marquis of Lansdown for the Appointment of a Committee of Finance. Address to the King moved by the Earl of Guildford and Mr. Fox. Close of the Session. Military Operations, 1796. March of the Generals Moreau and Jourdain into the Heart of Germany. Defeat of Jourdain. Celebrated Retreat of Moreau. Wonderful Successes of General Buonaparte in Italy. Austrians defeated at Montepotte and at Millesimo. Armistice concluded with the King of Sardinia. Louis XVIII. compelled to quit the Venetian Territory. Famous Action at the Bridge of Lodi. French take Possession of Leghorn—likewise of Bologna, Urbino, and Ferrara. The Pope and the King of Naples sue for Peace. Battle of Castiglione. General Wurmser takes Refuge in Mantua. Cispadane Confederacy. Battle of Arcole. General Alvinzi retires beyond the Brenta. Incredible Obstinacy of the Pope. Island of St. Lucia recovered. Capture of a Dutch Squadron at Saldanha-Bay—and of various Dutch Settlements in the East. Evacuation of Corsica by the English. Descent upon Ireland under General Hoche. Differences between France and America. General Washington resigns his Office. Affairs of Holland. Proceedings of the French Government. Conspiracy of Floreal. State of the Gallican Church.

Church. National Institute established. Alliance between France and Spain. Injudicious Attempt of the Court of London to negotiate with France. Second Attempt of the Court of London. Lord Malmesbury nominated Ambassador to Paris—Ill Success of his Mission. Remarks upon the Conduct of the Negotiation. Death of the Empress of Russia—and of the King of Sardinia.

THE summer and autumnal months of the year 1795 were rendered unfortunately memorable by a scarcity approaching to actual famine, occasioned in part by an alarming deficiency in the last year's crop, in part by the enormous waste and consumption of the war, and in part by long continued and excessive rains, which excited great and general apprehension respecting the future. Happily, however, the weather became favorable at a very critical period for the country, and the harvest proved abundant beyond expectation. The parliament was summoned to meet on the 29th of October; while the price of all the necessaries of life were still extravagantly high; and the minds of the lower classes of the people were in a state of great fermentation from the idea universally prevalent that the ministry would listen to no terms of peace, without which there was but little reason to hope for the return of plenty. His majesty, on the day fixed, proceeded from the palace of St. James's to the
Parliament

Parliament House at the usual hour, between two and three in the afternoon. The day was remarkably fine, and an immense crowd (whether from accident or any pre-concerted mischievous design cannot be ascertained) assembled in the Park, who soon began to exhibit symptoms of ill-humour and discontent. As the state-coach passed along the Mall, violent exclamations were heard of "Peace! Peace! Bread! No Pitt! no War!" And the clamor gradually increasing, stones began to be thrown at the royal carriage as it proceeded by the Horse-Guards through the streets of Westminster; and from a house in Margaret-street, near the Abbey, a bullet was supposed to be discharged from an air-gun, as no noise was heard, though something passed through the glass of the coach with great force and velocity, leaving only a small circular aperture. On the king's return from the house of peers, notwithstanding these outrages, no additional escort was ordered for the protection of the royal person; and though the gates of the Horse-Guards were shut, the crowd already assembled in the Park immediately re-commenced their audacious attacks. The king at length reached St. James's; and after a short interval he went into his private carriage, in order to rejoin the royal family at the queen's palace. But the
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rage of the misguided populace was not yet exhausted. The state coach, on its return to the Mews, was nearly demolished by one part of the mob, while the other daringly attempted to stop the private carriage of the king, and even to force open the doors. This was a grosser insult and outrage than had ever been offered to any monarch of Great Britain since the days of Charles I.; and yet, for many years previous to this strange incident, the king had enjoyed great popularity, though it was somewhat diminished of late with a large proportion of his subjects, by his supposed enmity to all political reform, and his predilection for the present destructive war. At this last attack the king seemed to lose his characteristic firmness, and was evidently struck with amazement and consternation. Upon the arrival, at a critical moment, of a party of life-guards, however, the populace were at length dispersed, and the king with great difficulty and even danger reached the queen's house in safety. This shocking and unparalleled outrage excited the deep and universal resentment of all orders of persons throughout the nation. Those who conceived the king to be most misled and deceived by the arts of his ministers highly respected the private virtues and good intentions of the monarch, and detested, perhaps much more sincerely than

than the sycophants of the court, this monstrous violation of duty and decorum.

A proclamation was immediately published, offering a reward of a thousand pounds, to be paid on the conviction of any person who should be found concerned in this daring and criminal assault. But it is remarkable no one who had been guilty of any actual violence was ever discovered. A man named Kidd Wake, and some others, were indeed proved to be among the number of the hiffers and disturbers of the king's peace, and were punished with excessive severity. Addresses from both houses of parliament, the city of London, &c. were presented to the king, expressing, in strong terms, their indignation and abhorrence of the late atrocious procedure. Immediately after this business was disposed of, the speech delivered from the throne was taken into consideration. In it his majesty had declared, "that it was a great satisfaction to him to reflect, that, notwithstanding the many events unfavorable to the common cause, the prospect resulting from the general situation of affairs had in many important respects been materially improved in the course of the present year." His majesty further observed, "that the distraction and anarchy which had so long prevailed in France had now led to a crisis, of which it was as yet impossible

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to see the issue. Should this crisis terminate in any order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a disposition to negotiate for a general peace, on just and suitable terms, would not fail to be met on his part with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect." His majesty, at the close of his speech, mentioned the great anxiety which he felt at the very high price of grain, and recommended a diligent consideration of such measures as might tend to alleviate the present distress.

The address being moved and seconded in the house of commons, Mr. Fox rose, and in very indignant language reprobated both the speech and its authors. "Was it not enough (he asked) to persist for three years in a war of miserable speculation—to add an hundred millions to the public debt—to load the people with four millions of additional taxes—and to see them reduced to a state of famine—but they must be insulted by the falsehood of being told their situation was improved? How improved? Was it an improvement that France had over-run the Palatinate, and captured Mannheim? or that the enemy had abandoned some posts in Italy, of which they were not a year ago

ago in possession? If the disasters of the war had impressed upon the ministers a conviction of the necessity of peace, he should indeed deem our situation improved. But the distresses of the French were held out as a subject of exultation. France was last year said to be in her last agonies: although since that declaration she had made the most brilliant campaign that her history had for ages exhibited. The depreciation of paper currency in France had been the incessant tale with which parliament had been deluded from year to year, notwithstanding the recent and similar example of America.—Mr. Fox said, that the specious theoretical arguments of the minister for the continuance of the war might suit well a literary or political disputant, and might amuse in a club-room or a pamphlet, but they were utterly unworthy of any man who took upon him the name and office of a statesman. Last session the ministers had, by a resolution of parliament, avowed their readiness to enter into a negotiation whenever a government was established in France capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity. But was negotiation offered when such a government appeared? It was a matter of fact, that France did maintain such relations; since Prussia, Spain, and divers of the German princes, even the elector of Hanover himself, had

had made peace with her ; and experience had proved, that neither the changes of men, nor of constitutions, affected the engagements they had formed with foreign countries. The only true and wise dependence for the continuance of peace was the equity of the terms on which it was made, and the interest both parties had in keeping it. The offer of negotiation (he thought) ought to come from us, as having made declarations which stood in the way of negotiation. He therefore moved an amendment, which, after enumerating the various disasters of the campaign, and stating from experience that the French were able to maintain the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other nations, prayed his majesty that such terms of peace should be offered to the French republic as should be consistent with the honor of the crown, and with the security and interests of the people."

Mr. Pitt opposed the amendment in a long speech, insisting, as usual, upon the ruined and undone state of the French finances—720 millions of assignats being at the present time in circulation. When he considered their total inability to carry on the war for another campaign, he could not doubt but the situation of things was materially improved. The new constitution of France Mr. Pitt highly commended, when
compared

compared with the preceding forms ; and supposing it to be put into activity with such acquiescence of the nation as to enable their representatives to speak on behalf of the people of France, he had no difficulty in saying, that all objections to the form and principles of that government, as obstacles to negotiation, would be at an end ; but that the manifestation of any precipitate and premature desire for peace would in present circumstances be the most fatal event that could possibly happen.

The duke of Bedford, in the house of lords, proposed an amendment to the address similar to that of Mr. Fox in the house of commons ; but in both houses the amendments were negatived by very great majorities.

On the 4th of November a very remarkable proclamation was issued, announcing, that, immediately before the opening of the present session, great numbers of persons had collected in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, to the endangering of the public peace, and that such proceedings were followed, on the day of the meeting of parliament, by acts of tumult and violence, to the immediate hazard of his majesty's person ; and enjoining all justices of the peace, sheriffs, &c. to use their utmost diligence to prevent and suppress all seditions and unlawful assemblies, &c. This proclamation was

on the same day laid before both houses of parliament.

The house of peers having been summoned on the motion of lord Grenville for the 6th of November, his lordship, at the close of a long speech, presented to the house a bill for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts. "Whatever variations (his lordship observed) there might be in this bill from the precedents of former times, he assured their lordships that they would be found only to deviate so far as the peculiar forms of existing circumstances required. The precedents to which he referred were those in the reign of Elizabeth and Charles II.—acts passed in *approved times* : and he doubted not but their lordships would agree with him in the necessity there was of applying a speedy remedy to those dangerous practices which have endangered not only the safety of the constitution but the life of the sovereign."—The earl of Lauderdale observed, that, "by the bill then introduced, a variety of new crimes and new treasons would be added to the criminal code of this country, and it would effect a total alteration of the laws respecting treason, and a most dangerous innovation upon the constitution. He thought it extraordinary that so strong a measure should be
proposed

proposed before there was the least evidence to prove the slightest connection between the meetings at Chalk-Farm and the outrage on his majesty, or that the treason and sedition complained of did actually exist." Upon examination of this bill it was, in fact found to contain an amazing heap of wild and new-fangled treasons, of which, beyond comparison, the most dangerous was "malicious and advising SPEAKING!"—an innovation upon the spirit and antient practice of the constitution so infamous and abominable, that even the abject and slavish parliament of king James II. an assembly garbled to serve the purposes of that odious tyrant, hesitated to pass a law to that effect.—This clause lord Grenville, after much debate, the times being not yet ripe for so impudently atrocious a measure, consented to omit; and the operation of the bill was limited to the life of the reigning sovereign—the bill itself being by this means converted into a standing parliamentary libel against the king; as if this monarch could want more or stronger safeguards for the security of his person than any of his predecessors had done, or his successors were likely to do. When the bill was under discussion in the committee, where it underwent some farther softening, the great talents of lord Thurlow were exerted to prove how superfluous,

as well as odious, it was altogether. The language of the bill this great lawyer asserted to be vague, indefinite, and highly dangerous to the subject; and he gave it as his decided opinion, that the present laws of the country were fully adequate to the punishment of the crimes which the bill was professedly framed to embrace; and that it could in no degree conduce to the safety of the king, or the preservation of the constitution.—The bill in question, exclusive of its creating a chaos of treasons in the same spirit of tyranny, increased the punishment which the law had provided for the crime of sedition; enacting, that, on a second conviction, the offender shall be liable to transportation for the term of seven years. The duke of Bedford expressed, in strong language, his abhorrence of the spirit and principle of the bill, and particularly of this clause, which he regarded as a wanton outrage upon the subject. “What might not be construed into sedition? and who (said his grace) could consider himself as wholly uninterested in the operation of this clause, now that the good times of Charles II. were made the example to copy after?” The duke animadverted in pointed terms upon the extraordinary declaration of Horsey, bishop of Rochester, in the course of the debate, ‘that speculative and philosophical disquisitions upon the
subject

subject of government, though they might be *allowed*, did more harm than good; but that public discussions of such topics ought to be prevented; and that he did not know, in fact, what the mass of the people in any country had to do with the laws but to obey them.' "This doctrine, (his grace said) from the mouth of a musti, might be attributed to ignorance; but when pronounced in the legislature of this free country by the lips of a British prelate, must excite amazement and indignation."—Severe as the new provisions against the offence of sedition appeared, in comparison of those which had hitherto been found amply sufficient for every useful and practical purpose, they were mildness itself compared with the barbarous latitude of the Scottish law upon this head. The earl of Lauderdale, therefore, very seasonably and properly, though unavailingly, moved that the operation of the act might, as to this point, be extended to that kingdom; for, unless it could be shown that heavier penalties were necessary to suppress sedition in a Scotchman than an Englishman, he could not comprehend the wisdom or policy of the Scottish code.—The bill at length passed, though in a state very different from that in which it had been at first introduced, and with the appendage of a protest
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signed by the duke of Bedford, and the earls of Derby and Lauderdale.

A measure extremely analogous to this was, about the same time, introduced into the lower house by Mr. Pitt, who moved, November the 10th, that leave be given to bring in a bill for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies. On this occasion, Mr. Pitt began by painting in glowing colors the criminal and outrageous insults committed upon the person of the king on the first day of the session. He said, however, that the purport of his motion was not to alter or enforce the laws for the king's safety, because the other house had a bill before them to that effect, but to prevent those meetings to which all the mischiefs he had mentioned might be attributed. If the house meant that such enormities should be totally averted, they should adopt some means of putting an end to those seditious assemblies, which served as vehicles to faction and disloyalty, which fanned and kept alive the flame of disaffection, and filled the minds of the people with discontent.

If, in conformity to these ideas, Mr. Pitt had proposed some temporary measure, adapted to the real exigencies of the times, for the prevention of those tumultuous popular assemblies which

which had of late been so frequently held in the fields and commons adjoining to the metropolis, and resorted to as the great fountain of political information and the chosen medium of reform, no rational person would have disputed the propriety of his precautions; but it quickly appeared, that the disguised object of this bill was to put an end to all public discussion or deliberative investigation of public measures. The rising dissatisfaction of the nation had of late clearly manifested itself; and the daring design of the minister was to destroy all indications of that dissatisfaction in the nascent state; to make as much as possible every expression of discontent against the ministry, who called themselves the GOVERNMENT, criminal and dangerous, by enacting a multiplicity of provisions, complex, tedious, and burdensome, an exact conformity to which was essential, even to the convening any public meeting,—and, when such meeting was actually assembled, by investing any venal magistrate with a power of dissolving it whenever any language which he might be pleased to construe into sedition should be uttered by any person present at it. The magistrate was further empowered to apprehend the persons offending on the spot, and all resistance to his authority was declared to be felony. And, by a clause of the proposed bill, if fifty persons or

more meet, and, after an order to disperse, twelve shall remain one hour, it was made DEATH, without benefit of clergy. The right of petitioning, that most sacred of political privileges and duties, and which necessarily involves in it the right of free discussion and investigation of all public measures, was not likely to be exercised to any obnoxious purpose when chained and fettered by such execrable limitations as these. Men of high and independent minds would feel themselves degraded by an attendance at any public meetings upon such terms as these. If the bill once passed, it was evident that the privilege of petitioning was virtually and practically lost.

This bill met with an opposition, both within and without doors, so vigorous and resolute as to demonstrate that Mr. Pitt had not yet succeeded in his detestable efforts to extinguish the flame of liberty in England. No sooner had the motion been read by the speaker than Mr. Fox rose and declared that the indignation he felt at the atrocious insult offered to the king was not inferior to that of any man, but he should do injustice to his feelings were he not to avow that it was equalled by the indignation he experienced in consequence of the motion he had just heard. If Mr. Pitt meant to found this execrable measure on the flimsy pretext of
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the public meetings lately held in the vicinity of the metropolis, let him at least make some attempt to prove the connection between them. That the violence offered to his majesty was the result of these meetings, there existed no color of evidence. It seemed to be the object of the mover of this bill, to bring the public gradually to submit to the most rigid despotism. If the principle of this measure were admitted by the house, Mr. Fox protested that in the discussion of the detail he would take no part. Public meetings for the discussion of public topics were not only lawful, but of the very essence of the constitution, and Englishmen had immemorially enjoyed this liberty. Now it seems they are no longer to do so, unless notice be given to a magistrate empowered to arrest any person whom in his wisdom he might deem seditious ; and who had authority to dissolve the meeting by the *fiat* of his own will. SAY at ONCE that a free constitution is no longer suitable to England ! Conduct yourselves as the senators of Denmark formerly did ! Renounce your liberties, and accept of despotism ; but do not mock the understanding and feelings of mankind by telling the world you are free. Can a meeting under such restraints as the bill imposes and requires be called a meeting of freemen ? Will the people of this country suffer
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their feelings to be thus insulted? Or is it possible they can regard this measure in any other light than as a total extinction of their liberty? He trusted that the people would be alarmed at the prospect of the state preparing for them, and that they would assemble while they might, to concert the means of averting a stroke so fatal. Those who failed to do so he pronounced traitors to their country. He declared his resolution, if this bill was persisted in, of moving a call of the house.

After a variety of speeches from the principal members of opposition, reprobating the bill in terms of the utmost indignation and asperity, Mr. Wilberforce, who had during the two last sessions acted so independent and honorable a part, rose, and, in the most pusillanimous language, acknowledged his acquiescence in, and approbation of, the measure. "For three years (he said) attempts had been made to poison the minds of the people, by disseminating false principles of liberty; and not of liberty merely, but of philosophy and religion likewise. That all this had not been without effect, recent events had afforded sufficient proof, and he thought the administration entitled to the thanks of the nation for adopting the necessary measures of restraint and prevention. He did not regard the bill proposed by *his right honorable* FRIEND

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as militating against the right of discussing political questions, and rather thought that right would acquire new life and vigor when those assemblies at which public discussions took place should be brought under proper regulations!" The bill was ordered in by a majority of 214 to 42 voices.

Mr. Fox now moved for a call of the house, which was acceded to by Mr. Pitt, who observed, notwithstanding, that the bill would be produced in a day or two, and that it might be read a first and second time, and go through the committee, before the call.—Mr. Grey urged the right the people of England had to expect that a bill of such dreadful import should at least be discussed in a full house; and hoped time would be given at least to utter the last bitter groans of expiring liberty. The call was at length fixed for the 24th of November. In the mean time, the nation at large, or at least all who retained any sense of the inestimable value of the blessings of liberty, had taken the alarm at the bills now depending, and meetings were convened in a great number of counties, cities, and boroughs, to petition parliament against the passing of them into laws. The Corresponding Society, whose imprudent proceedings had afforded the pretext for these nefarious and liberticidal measures, met, for the last time, in the field

field near Copenhagen House, November 12, in prodigious numbers. The greatest decorum was notwithstanding observed, and petitions were agreed on to the king and two houses of parliament against the bills in question, after which they dispersed in the most perfect order. In a very short time, near a hundred other petitions were presented to parliament against the bills, signed by more than 130,000 persons; but no consideration could check the minister in his headlong career, supported as he was by vast majorities of both houses.

On the 16th of November the Treason Bill was sent down from the lords, and, after encountering great resistance in every stage, it finally passed into an act most disgraceful to the code of English statutes.

On the second reading of the Sedition Bill, Mr. Erskine distinguished himself by some very animated remarks against it. "An act of this description (he said) was never thought of in the reign of king Charles II. after all the horrors and confusion of the former reign. It was never attempted in the reign of king William, when the government was newly established during a disputed succession, or in either of the two subsequent reigns, when rebellions raged in the heart of the kingdom.—He defied the whole profession of the law to prove that
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the bill then before the house was consonant to the principles of the constitution. The constitution was abrogated and annulled by it. Our ancestors were content to wait till some overt act appeared which was the subject of punishment: but, under this bill, the determination of a magistrate was to interfere between the people and the assertion of their rights, or the complaint of their grievances.—How easy would it be for the spy of a corrupt magistrate, by going to a meeting and uttering a few seditious words, whether apposite to the subject or not, to afford a pretence for dissolving the meeting. The law of the land (this great constitutional lawyer affirmed) was fully adequate to all the purposes of good government without the introduction of the present measure. In any public meeting, when a breach of the peace was committed, a magistrate, by the existing law, was entitled to interfere, and, in his support, was authorized to raise the *posse comitatis* if necessary; and also by the Riot Act he had the power of dispersing tumultuous assemblies.—The minister was now attempting to brand with the imputation of sedition all those who employed the same language which Mr. Pitt himself had once held. But under the sanction of the venerable father of this apostate minister, the great earl of Chatham, he would maintain that the people
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of England might and ought to defend their rights, if necessary, by the last extremity to which free-men could resort. For my part (exclaimed this celebrated advocate of the constitution), I shall never cease to struggle in support of liberty! In no situation will I desert the cause—I was born a free-man, I will never die a slave!”

On the 23d of November a debate took place in consequence of a variety of petitions presented against the bills. Mr. Sturt, on offering that of the Corresponding Society, justified that body from the aspersions thrown out against them and their writings; and, to prove that things at least equally exceptionable had appeared from the partizans of the ministry, he read to the house several passages from a pamphlet published by Mr. Reeves, president of the London Association, in which that gentleman had, amongst other curious positions, asserted, “that the government of England was a monarchy; that the monarchy was the ancient stock from which have sprung those goodly branches of the legislature, the lords and commons; that these, however, were still only branches, and that they might be lopped off, and the tree be a tree still—shorn indeed of its honors, but not, like them, cast into the fire.” This contemptible trash was taken up as a very serious matter by
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the house, and not only voted to be a libel upon the constitution, which was very superfluous, but the attorney-general was ordered to commence a prosecution against the author, which was very indefensible. But by the verdict of an intelligent jury, who were sensible that opinions ought to be free, he was subsequently acquitted, to the great satisfaction of his more generous political adversaries.

When the house went (November 27) into a committee on the Sedition Bill, Mr. Fox, true to his first declaration of not debating the bill in detail, immediately rose and left the house, followed by the principal members of opposition. A very material amendment was, however, made in the committee, by inserting a clause, limiting the duration of the bill to three years—a concession no doubt extorted from the minister by the alarm excited in every part of the country by this measure. On the 3d of December this bill was passed and sent up to the lords, where it was vigorously but unavailingly opposed by the marquis of Lansdown, the earls of Derby and Moira, and lord Thurlow, who stigmatized it as “a bad bill, establishing a dangerous and unconstitutional precedent. Not that the bill oppugned the right of the subject to discuss public grievances—No: it only rendered the exercise of that right impracticable.

practicable. His lordship contrasted in a striking manner the provisions of the present bill with those of the Riot Act. By the latter, the persons assembled for an unlawful purpose did not incur the penalty of death, unless they continued together riotously and tumultuously for one hour after the act had been read. By the former, if an assembly convened for the mere discussion of public topics continued together peaceably, to the number of twelve or more, for one hour after proclamation was made commanding them to disperse, they were guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy. For such a bill as the present (his lordship declared) he was fully determined not to vote." On the 14th of December, the bill was read a third time, and passed by the usual majority. It was accompanied by two protests, the first of which expressed in simple, the second in energetic, language, the chief arguments against the bill.

In the early part of the session, a great variety of expedients were suggested, and some adopted, by the house of commons, for alleviating the distresses of the poor, by lowering the price of bread-corn. Bills were introduced to alter the existing laws relative to the assize of bread; to prohibit the manufacture of starch from wheat; to prohibit the distilling from any articles of grain; to prevent obstruction in the transit of grain,

grain, &c.—So far as these laws operated at all, the operation was allowed to be beneficial. But a more direct and radical remedy for the existing evil, as it affected the most useful and necessary branch of the community, was proposed by Mr. Whitbread, who, on the 9th of December, brought in a bill to enable justices at the quarter session to regulate the price of labor. This was powerfully supported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Jekyl, Mr. Lechmere, and many other respectable persons: but it was opposed in a very elaborate speech by Mr. Pitt, who exhorted the house to seek for some other remedy more comprehensive in its object, less exceptionable in its example, and less dangerous in its application. He made a very florid harangue upon the existing system of poor's laws, which he censured as very erroneous, and asserted that much of the evils complained of might be remedied by a reformation in those laws, which had been already begun; and it was his wish and intention to correct their defects, to free them from the corruption by which they were obscured, and to restore them to their original purity. The chancellor of the Exchequer thus interposing his *VERO*, the motion of Mr. Whitbread passed in the negative. The poor therefore throughout the kingdom were kept from perishing only by voluntary subscriptions; and national charity

city poorly compensated for the absence of national justice.

It may be proper in a few words to subjoin, that, at a subsequent period, Mr. Pitt, agreeably to his engagement, brought in a bill for the reform of the poor's laws, so absurd, so indigested, and so impracticable, that it found not a single advocate, either in or out of the house; and the sanguine expectations he had excited of a reform on this, as on other occasions, of still higher moment, were most completely disappointed*.

One hundred and ten thousand seamen, including marines, and two hundred and seven thousand landmen, were voted for the service of the year. In the extraordinaries of the army estimates, the sum of 314,000*l.* was charged for the expense of erecting barracks, without any previous consent or knowledge of parliament. The general statement of account was brought forward December 7, when Mr. Pitt proposed a loan of 18 millions, exclusive of a vote of credit for two millions and a half. For every hundred pounds in money the subscriber was entitled to 120*l.* 3 per-cents. and 25*l.* 4 per-cents. with an addition of 6*s.* 6*d.* in the Long Annuity. In the course of a severe investigation into the

* Vide 'Remarks on Mr. Pitt's Bill, for the Reform of the Poor's Laws.'

circumstances attending the negotiation of this loan, it appeared that a very extraordinary and marked preference had been given by the minister to the mercantile house of Boyd, though conducted on the professed principle of a free and open competition, and that the equally respectable house of Morgan would have taken it on terms considerably more advantageous to the public—as was stated at large in a very able manner by Mr. William Smith, who moved for a committee of enquiry on this subject. But the chancellor of the Exchequer stated in his vindication, that he had pledged himself not to bring a new loan into the market till the last installment on the last year's loan, also contracted for by the house of Boyd, was paid up. This circumstance he had not *recollected* when he offered a competition; but when it was recalled to his memory, he thought himself obliged to give the offer of the new loan to Mr. Boyd. This was represented to be as strange a thing to forget as improvident to promise. Mr. Smith undertook to prove that only 1,400,000*l.* remained in the market of the former loan, and that, by the prodigal conditions of the present, the sum of 400,000*l.* was lost to the public. The most probable motive of the preference given to the house of Boyd, however, appeared, in the course of the investigation, to be, that

this great commercial house had assisted the Board of Treasury, distressed beyond all example for want of money, previous to the meeting of parliament, by drawing fictitious bills of exchange, antedated from Hamburg, upon the credit of which cash to the amount of two millions and upwards was advanced to government. Such was the nature of this transaction, that though it was not deemed expedient by the Bank of England to refuse to discount the notes, the governor of the Bank had, it seems, declared that it would have stamped disgrace upon the character of any private merchant, and have shaken the credit of his house. After such a deception, who, it was pointedly asked, could in future pretend to distinguish between a fair Treasury bill or a fictitious and collusive one, *fraudulently* framed to answer a temporary purpose: for the solicitor-general acknowledged it to be at least doubtful whether any action could be brought by the holders of those bills. In conclusion, the resolutions of censure moved by Mr. Smith were negatived, and counter-resolutions passed expressive of the approbation of the house at the conduct of the minister.

On the 8th of December a message from his majesty was delivered to the house by Mr. Pitt, announcing "the establishment of such a form of government in France as appeared capable
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of maintaining the relations of peace and amity, and expressive of his readiness to *meet* any negotiation on the part of the enemy, with a desire to give it the speediest effect in producing a peace." And on the following day Mr. Pitt moved an address in reply. This gave occasion to a debate; and Mr. Sheridan proposed an amendment "altogether disclaiming the idea of considering any change of government in France as affecting the principle of negotiation, and praying that a treaty might immediately be entered upon. This amendment was said to be perfectly consistent with the spirit of the message, which admitted that Great Britain *might* now safely treat. Where then could be the objection to declare that she *would* treat with France? It was a vulgar, and indeed the most vulgar of opinions, to suppose that it was disadvantageous to a power at war to be the first to offer terms of peace. The experience of history proved the reverse? Were peace now offered on reasonable terms, it would not be possible for the French government to refuse their assent." The minister however insisted on being left unfettered, and the amendment was negatived without a division*.

* On the 7th of January, 1796, the prince's of Wales was delivered of a daughter, to whom was given the name of Charlotte—and who, as the only issue of the marriage, appears very likely, in exclusion of all the male branches of the royal family, to inherit the crown of Britain.

No step however being apparently taken by the government towards a pacification, soon after the recess of parliament Mr. Grey moved (February 15, 1796) for an address to the king, praying him to communicate to the executive government of the French republic his readiness to meet any disposition to negotiate with an earnest desire to give it the speediest effect. In reply, Mr. Pitt urged confidence in ministers, and observed that, if the house thought this confidence could not be safely vested in them, the proper mode was to address his majesty for their removal. He asserted that the French had almost exhausted their means of carrying on the war; and said that, since his majesty's message had been delivered, ministry had taken every measure, consistent with the interests of the country, to accomplish the object of it. The point to be considered was the probability of obtaining just and honorable terms; but such terms must be very different from those which the public declarations of the French had for a long time past indicated. The question being put, the motion was of course negatived by a great majority.

On the 18th of February, Mr. Wilberforce renewed his annual motion, perhaps—since the feelings of the house had long become callous upon the subject—better omitted, for the abolition

tion of the slave-trade. The motion was supported nevertheless with eloquence and ardor by Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Smith, and others; and it was opposed with equal vehemence by Sir William Yonge, Mr. Dundas, and general Tarleton, member for Liverpool, the chief emporium of this horrid traffic. The general at length moved to postpone the farther consideration of the business for four months, which was ultimately carried, no doubt to the equal astonishment and chagrin of the chancellor of the Exchequer, whose influence unfortunately extended to every question but this.

A great variety of papers on the subject of finance having been some weeks before the house, Mr. Grey, on the 10th of March, moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee to enquire into the state of the nation, enforcing his motion by a speech replete with information of the most interesting nature. On taking the estimate of the three preceding years of the war, we had added 77 millions to the capital of our funded debt. Whatever sums had been voted by parliament were invariably upon estimate, but the real expence was much greater. In addition to the parliamentary grants, enormous sums of money had been expended without the consent of parliament. At the beginning of the war the minister had pledged

himself, as far as possible to keep down the extraordinaries of the army and navy, and to prevent the accumulation of unfunded debt: but it was a fact that the whole aggregate of the extraordinaries incurred in the wars of king William and queen Anne did not amount to one half of the extraordinaries of the present year. The total of the sums spent in this war of defeat and disgrace, without the consent of parliament, Mr. Grey stated at 31,280,000*l.* of which 1,100,000*l.* had been applied to the erection of *barracks*—termed with propriety, by judge Blackstone, ‘inland fortresses.’ But the enormous extent of the expenditure was by no means the only or the most alarming circumstance attending it. The mode of advancing money to the government by the Bank had undoubtedly the sanction of parliament, but it was a practice which had been limited and restrained by the constitutional jealousy of the legislature. No maxim was better understood in that house than that no advance beyond a specified limit shall be made to government by the Bank in anticipation of the revenue. This prevented the minister from having a command of money without the consent of parliament, and it also enabled the Bank to afford that commercial assistance which was the primary object of the institution. These salutary maxims had been
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most grossly violated by the present minister, and his conduct had been greatly distressing to the commercial part of the country. On the 1st of January, 1793, the Bank was in advance to government 11,643,000*l.* which accounted for the inability of the directors to assist as usual the mercantile credit. This practice had been provided against by the act of William and Mary, which established the company; but when a bill upon a vote of credit a few sessions ago passed through the house, a clause was surreptitiously introduced which entirely frustrated the salutary purposes of the act in this respect. A vast floating debt, Mr. Grey said, remained to be provided for, notwithstanding the loan already negotiated; and the amount of the taxes already imposed during the war, or existing previous to it, fell short of the annual revenue which would be necessary for the support even of a peace establishment—no less than two millions and a half. And Mr. Grey conjured the house, in an eloquent peroration, to dread the over-grown influence of a minister whose whole conduct was radically hostile to the fundamental principles of our constitution.

In reply, Mr. Jenkinson insisted that the present posture of affairs afforded no sufficient ground for enquiry, and that the increased expense of wars was owing to the increased prosperity

prosperity of the nation. If the war was just and necessary, which he should always maintain, since it had been sanctioned by parliament, he did not see how the expense of the war, which was also sanctioned by parliament, should become a proper subject of their enquiry; and he therefore moved the order of the day; which, with much debate, was carried by a large majority.

That Mr. Grey did not in any degree exaggerate the public embarrassments, and the ministerial misconduct which had occasioned them, but too soon and too plainly appeared; for, after a short interval, Mr. Pitt came forward with a proposition (March 18) for a second loan, to the amount of seven millions and a half, in order, as he said, to take out of the market a great proportion of the paper constituting the unfunded debt, which was contracted for on nearly the same terms as the former. Instead of blushing at the unparalleled enormity of these successive demands—amounting to 43 millions and a half sterling in fourteen months, for paying the interest upon which new taxes were imposed, in perpetuity, to the amount of 3,300,000*l.*—Mr. Pitt hoped that nothing would discourage the house from persevering in a war whose end was so laudable. He insisted, as he had so often before done, upon the ruined state
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of the finances of France, and concluded by exclaiming: "The ultimate issue of the contest must be glorious, if we are not wanting to ourselves! We shall, by the blessing of Providence, deliver ourselves from the worst of dangers, and at the same time transmit to posterity a most useful lesson, that a bankrupt, turbulent, and lawless nation cannot measure itself with the spontaneous and well-regulated conduct of a free and loyal country!" After much warm discussion the resolutions moved by Mr. Pitt were agreed to.

It is worthy of remark, that, in the year 1782, a committee, of which Mr. Pitt was a member, was appointed by parliament to examine the public accounts of the kingdom; and, in their report, they observe, "that the enormous amount of the extraordinaries incurred without the consent of the parliament is an abuse of the most alarming nature, enabling ministers to deceive the nation by keeping back the great expenses of the war, and concealing thereby the extent of its engagements." In the short space of three years, which had elapsed since the commencement, a debt funded and unfunded, scarcely short of a hundred millions, had been already contracted, and all enquiry into the necessity of this incredible expenditure uniformly denied. Surely then it cannot be too
harsh

harsh to characterize the financial administration of Mr. Pitt as exhibiting a system infamously improvident. If a national bankruptcy should be the ultimate, as it seems the inevitable, result of this system, let us thank God that the LAND remains, and that no extravagance of kings or ministers can annihilate it. If our government could have had such communion with the inhabitants of the sun or moon, or any other agents visible or invisible, as by parting with territory to have obtained the means of supplying their immediate purposes, there would not have been by this time an acre of ground left for an Englishman to have set his foot upon. But regret and indignation are alike useless and unavailing; and we submit to the oppressions inflicted by such an administration as the present, as to a plague, a famine, or an earthquake, or any other visitation of Providence in the natural or moral world.

Nothing very remarkable occurred in parliament after this till the beginning of May, when Mr. Grey brought forward an elaborate series of resolutions, tending to establish the following conclusions:—That ministers had violated the express stipulations of the Appropriation Act, by applying grants to other services than those for which they were voted; that they had presented false accounts to the house to conceal

conceal this infraction ; that they had violated another law for regulating the office of pay-master-general of the forces.—The resolutions were no less than fifteen in number, the last of which stated that, in the instances specified, his majesty's ministers had been guilty of presenting false accounts, calculated to mislead the judgment of the house—of a flagrant violation of various acts of parliament, and of a gross misapplication of the public money : and Mr. Grey declared, at the same time, his purpose, if these resolutions were carried, to make them the basis of an impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanours.—Mr. Grey requested the house to recollect that there was an act passed every session, after the grants for the year were made, *appropriating* certain sums to certain purposes ; which act had, as Mr. Grey proved in numerous and very important instances, been most grossly violated. The money appropriated to clothing the army, for example, had never been so applied, and there was then due six hundred thousand pounds and upwards to the several colonels of regiments, &c. upon this account. It was very possible that exigencies might arise which would justify, in a certain degree, deviations from the Act of Appropriation, but in such cases the necessity ought to be stated to the house, and an indemnity granted.

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On the contrary, great pains had been taken to impose upon the house by false accounts, as appeared by reference to what is styled, in parliamentary language, the Disposition Paper—a document established at the Revolution, as a real account, for the information of parliament, how the supplies were employed. This paper he now arraigned as completely false. It stated that the sums voted for the army, &c. had been issued when that branch of the service was still in arrear.—The question before the house was, whether they would suffer this official statement to become a mere form, and the minister to apply the public money as he thought proper, in defiance of the solemn enactments of the legislature? In direct violation also of an act of parliament, the paymaster of the army was allowed to retain in his hands a very large balance of the public money, which ought to have been paid into the Bank.

Mr. Pitt's defence was very vague and general. "The Act of Appropriation had at no time (he said) been strictly adhered to; though he allowed that the recent deviations from it had been greater than formerly. It was no reproach to the Treasury not to be able to ascertain things in their nature inascertainable. Considering the variety of operations to which the views of ministers must be directed in a war like

like the present, and the necessary changes which must take place, it would ill accord with the public service to bind them down by the strict letter of the act. The balance in the hands of the paymaster was (he said) temporary and accidental, and owing to the refusal of the directors of the Bank to receive Exchequer-bills as cash; but they had since agreed to receive them."

Mr. Fox observed, that " whoever had heard the defence set up, without adverting to the accusation, would have thought that the latter was directed against the incurring any extraordinaries at all; not that they had been incurred improvidently, or had been withheld improperly from the house; or, when incurred and provided for, that the money voted for them had not been applied to their discharge. Arguing generally, it was no doubt certain that, when necessity demanded, the Act of Appropriation must be dispensed with; and this sort of argument would apply to any other law, inevitable necessity being an answer to every thing. The great matter to be explained was, why were the sums voted by the house for extraordinary purposes not applied to their original destination?—That the money originally voted was applied necessarily to other purposes was no reason for delaying the payment one hour after

after the succeeding grant which included and provided for all preceding deficiencies. The minister had answered this by the avowal of a system which tended to bring our finances into the greatest confusion—that new grants for old demands should be applied to the discharge of still newer demands : so that to the uncertainty of the appropriation of grants there would be no end. Without some alteration in this practice, neither the house of commons nor the public could ever know that money was applied to the purposes to which the law destined it.”—Mr. Fox severely censured the infringement of the act relative to the office of paymaster. “ If the Bank refused Exchequer-bills, the money ought to have been issued some other way. If the Bank had not consented to the new arrangement, was the balance never to be paid as the act of parliament positively directed?”—The previous question at length released the minister from one of the most disagreeable dilemmas he had ever found himself in ; and the resolutions of Mr. Grey were virtually rejected by a vast majority of 171 voices.

Nearly at the same time the marquis of Lansdown, actuated by the same general views with Mr. Grey, moved the house of lords for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the state of the public expenditure. “ Many reforms

forms (his lordship said) had been clearly and ably pointed out in the reports of the commissioners of accounts nominated during the late war, which had been neglected by the present ministers; and the time would fail him should he enumerate all the abuses which had been introduced and sanctioned by them. He was tired of inspecting that register of corruption, *the RED BOOK*. But, above all other abuses and innovations, his lordship deprecated that which he said swallowed up the rest—*the power insidiously acquired by the minister of obtaining advances from the Bank to an unlimited amount*. By a most salutary regulation of the original act of king William, the Bank was restricted within very narrow bounds. But this restraint had been repealed by a clause so artfully inserted in a late act of parliament, that had it not been for the vigilance of a noble lord then present (the earl of Lauderdale) it would have passed wholly unnoticed. In consequence of this repeal, the Bank might stretch their credit to government at pleasure; and the minister, without consent of parliament, had an ample resource within his reach. His lordship wished to have it thoroughly ascertained, whether, and how far, the public expenses had increased beyond the supplies annually granted by parliament?"—After a

warm debate the motion was negatived by 104 to 12 voices only.

On the 10th of May an address to the king was moved in both houses—by the earl of Guildford in the upper, by Mr. Fox in the lower house of parliament—drawn in terms of remarkable vigor and ability, and containing many striking and important though uncourtly and unwelcome truths. The address declared “That the duty incumbent upon parliament no longer permitted them to dissemble their deliberate opinion that the distress, difficulty, and peril, to which this country is now subjected, have arisen from the misconduct of the king’s ministers, and are likely to subsist and increase as long as the same principles which have hitherto guided these ministers shall continue to prevail in the councils of Great Britain.—It is painful to us (say the supporters of this high-spirited address) to remind your majesty of the situation of your dominions at the beginning of the war, and of the high degree of prosperity to which the skill and industry of your majesty’s subjects had, under the safeguard of a free constitution, raised the British empire, since it can only fill your mind with the melancholy recollection of prosperity abused, and of opportunities of securing permanent advantages wantonly rejected. Nor shall

shall we presume to wound your majesty's benevolence, by dwelling on the fortunate consequences which might have arisen from the mediation of Great Britain between the powers then at war, which might have ensured the permanence of our prosperity while it preserved all Europe from the calamities which it has since endured,—a mediation which this kingdom was so well fitted to carry on with vigor and dignity, by its power, its character, and the nature of its government, happily removed at an equal distance from the contending extremes of licentiousness and tyranny.—From this neutral and impartial system of policy your majesty's ministers were induced to depart by certain measures of the French government, of which they complained as injurious and hostile to this country. With what justice those complaints were made we are not now called upon to determine, since it cannot be pretended that the measures of France were of such a nature as to preclude the possibility of adjustment by negotiation; and it is impossible to deny that the power which shuts up the channel of accommodation must be the real aggressor in war. To reject negotiation is to determine on hostilities; and, whatever may have been the nature of the points in question between us and France, we cannot but pronounce the refusal of such an

authorized communication with that country as might have amicably terminated the dispute to be the true and immediate cause of the rupture which followed.

“ Nor can we forbear to remark that the pretences under which your majesty’s ministers then haughtily refused such authorized communication have been sufficiently exposed by their own conduct in since submitting to a similar intercourse with the same government.

“ The misguided policy which thus rendered the war inevitable appears to have actuated your majesty’s ministers in their determination to continue it at all hazards. At the same time we cannot but observe that the obstinacy with which they have adhered to their desperate system is not more remarkable than their versatility in the pretexts upon which they have justified it. At one period the strength, at another the weakness, of the enemy, have been urged as motives for continuing the war; the successes as well as the defeats of the allies have contributed only to prolong the contest; and hope and despair have equally served to involve us still deeper in the horrors of war, and to entail upon us an endless train of calamities.

After the original professed objects had been obtained by the expulsion of the French armies from the territories of Holland and the Austrian
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Netherlands, we find your majesty's ministers, influenced either by arrogance or by infatuated ambition, and the vain hope of conquests which, if realized, could never compensate to the nation for the blood and treasure by which they must be obtained, rejecting unheard the overtures made by the Executive Council of France, at a period when circumstances were so eminently favorable to your majesty and your allies, that there is every reason to suppose that a negotiation commenced at such a juncture must have terminated in an honorable and advantageous peace; to the prospects arising from such an opportunity they preferred a blind and obstinate perseverance in a war which could scarce have any remaining object but the unjustifiable purpose of imposing upon France a government disapproved of by the inhabitants of that country; and such was the infatuation of these ministers, that, far from being able to frame a wise and comprehensive system of policy, they even rejected the few advantages that belonged to their own unfortunate scheme. The general existence of a design to interpose in the internal government was too manifest not to rouse into active hostility the national zeal of that people; but their particular projects were too equivocal to attract the confidence or procure the co-operation of those Frenchmen who

were disaffected to the government of their country. The nature of these plans was too clear not to provoke formidable enemies, but their extent was too ambiguous to conciliate useful friends.

“ We beg leave farther to represent to your majesty, that, at subsequent periods, your ministers have suffered the most favorable opportunities to escape of obtaining an honorable and advantageous pacification. They did not avail themselves, as it was their duty to have done, of the unbroken strength of the general confederacy which had been formed against France for the purpose of giving effect to overtures for negotiation. They saw the secession of several powerful states from that confederacy, they suffered it to dissolve without an effort for the attainment of a general pacification. They loaded their country with the odium of having engaged in a combination charged with the most questionable and unjustifiable views, without availing themselves of that combination for procuring favorable conditions of peace. That, from this fatal neglect, the progress of hostilities has only served to establish the evils which might certainly have been avoided by negotiation, but which are now confirmed by the events of the war. We have felt that the unjustifiable and impracticable attempt to establish royalty in
France

France by force has only proved fatal to its unfortunate supporters. We have seen with regret the subjugation of Holland, and the aggrandisement of the French republic; and we have to lament the alteration in the state of Europe, not only from the successes of the French, but from the formidable acquisitions of some of the allied powers on the side of Poland—acquisitions alarming from their magnitude, but still more so from the manner in which they have been made; thus fatally learning that the war has tended alone to establish the very evils for the prevention of which it was avowedly undertaken.

“ On a review of so many instances of gross and flagrant misconduct, proceeding from the same pernicious principles, and directed with incorrigible obstinacy to the same mischievous ends, we deem ourselves bound, in duty to your majesty and to our constituents, to declare that we see no rational hope of redeeming the affairs of the kingdom, but by the adoption of a system radically and fundamentally different from that which has produced our present calamities.

“ Unless your majesty’s ministers shall, from a real conviction of past errors, appear inclined to regulate their conduct upon such a system, we can neither give any credit to the sincerity of their professions of a wish for peace, nor re-

pose any confidence in them for conducting a negotiation to a prosperous issue. Odious as they are to an enemy, who will still believe them secretly to cherish those unprincipled and chimerical projects which they have been compelled in public to disavow, contemptible in the eyes of all Europe from the display of insincerity which has marked their conduct, our only hopes rest on your majesty's royal wisdom and unquestioned affection for your people, that you will be graciously pleased to adopt maxims of policy more suitable to the circumstances of the times than those by which your majesty's ministers appear to have been governed, and to direct your servants to take measures which, by differing essentially, as well in their tendency as in the principle upon which they are founded, from those which have hitherto marked their conduct, may give this country some reasonable hope, at no very distant period, of the establishment of a peace suitable to the interests of Great Britain, and likely to preserve the tranquillity of Europe."

This incomparable address excited very animated debates in both houses; and the ministers, stung and mortified to the quick, in vain attempted to clear themselves from the severe and heavy imputations contained in it—imputations which will most indubitably be ratified
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by the verdict of a discerning and impartial posterity. But, on the division, it appeared that they had as much the advantage in numbers as their opponents in argument—the motions both of lord Guildford and Mr. Fox being negatived by prodigious majorities. The public business being now concluded, his majesty terminated the session (May 19, 1796) with a speech from the throne, filled with the highest compliments to both houses “for the uniform wisdom, temper, and firmness, which had appeared in all their proceedings since their first meeting in that place.” And, on the following day, a proclamation was issued for their dissolution, and an end was happily put to the political existence of this still confiding, still confounded parliament, which had so enormously, and with such blind and obstinate rashness, added to the pressure of the public burdens, and involved the nation in a contest the most ruinous, the most unjust, and the most unnecessary, in which it had ever been engaged since the foundation of the English monarchy.

In consequence of the total subjugation of Holland by the French armies, hostilities in that quarter were for the present altogether extinguished; but in other parts the war was carried on with increased and redoubled fury. The Austrian armies were now placed under the
command

command of the archduke Charles, brother to the emperor, a young prince of great spirit and gallantry, and who was said to inherit no inconsiderable share of those military talents which had so eminently distinguished his illustrious ancestor, the great duke of Lorraine. The armistice expiring on the 31st of May, the operations of the campaign upon the Rhine began by a successful attack on the part of the French upon the Austrian posts situated on the Sieg and the Lahn, streams which run in a westward direction into that great river, with a view of opening the way to Mentz, the siege of which they once more meant to attempt. But the Austrians, assembling in great force, compelled the French to retreat and resume their former positions. A totally different plan was now therefore adopted; and general Moreau, who commanded the army of the Rhine and Moselle, feigning preparations for another and more serious attack, drew off his troops with the utmost secrecy, and by forced marches arrived at Strasburg: and notwithstanding an accidental inundation which raised the waters of the Rhine to an uncommon height, he effected the passage of the river, and by a sudden and furious assault reduced the fortress of Kehl on the opposite bank. General Wurmser, who commanded in this quarter, unable to withstand the impetuosity
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of this irruption, immediately applied to the archduke for aid; and his imperial highness, sensible of the importance of checking early the progress of the French in the Brisgau, hastened in person with a large body of troops to his assistance. Before the arrival of this reinforcement, however, the Austrians had been worsted in various engagements, and the passes of the Black Forest forced in several parts. General Wurmsfer having at length formed a junction with the archduke, they took a very advantageous position near the village of Ettingen, where they waited the attack of the French; and on the 9th of July a most bloody battle was fought at this spot with desperate valor on both sides. Fortune at last decided in favor of the republicans, and the Austrians, retreating with precipitation into the heart of Germany, left the fortresses of Mentz, Manheim, Philippsburg, and Ehrenbreitstein, to their natural defence.

General Jourdain, who commanded the army of the Sambre and Meuse, having repassed the Lahn, was by this time before the gates of Frankfort; so that the French were now masters of the whole course of the Rhine, from the confines of Switzerland to the Westphalian frontier. General Moreau, after taking possession of Fribourg, the chief town in the Brisgau, and Stutgard, the capital of the duchy of Wirtemberg,

berg, crossed the Necker, reducing the entire circle of Suabia to submission. Jourdain in the mean while marching through Frankfort, Aschaffenburg, and Wurtzburg, all of which places surrendered almost to his first summons, found himself in possession of the whole of Franconia. A division of the army of the Rhine and Moselle, under Ferino, having at the other extremity of the line seized upon the city of Constance, and the various fortresses on the Lake, the republican armies formed an immense chain, of which the left extended to the frontiers of Bohemia and Saxony, and the right to the Tyrolian mountains. In these circumstances the duke of Wirtemberg and the prince of Baden, bereft of their territories, sent ambassadors to the Directory to sue for peace, which was granted them on their engaging to withdraw from all alliances offensive and defensive into which they had entered against the republic, and to cede to France whatever territory they possessed, which was but of trivial account, on the left or French side of the Rhine. A new treaty of friendship and alliance was at the same time concluded with the king of Prussia, who, delighted to see the humiliation of the house of Austria, was occupied only with the thought how to convert the passing events of the war to his own advantage. With this view, and trust-
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ing to the connivance at least of the French, he detached a body of troops to seize upon the imperial city of Nuremburg, upon which he took this opportunity to advance some absurd and frivolous claims.

As the French armies advanced into Germany, the inhabitants, who were at first much biaſſed in their favor, and ſtrongly attached to the principles upon which the revolution had been originally founded, began to perceive that principles and practices were not neceſſarily connected, and that, in the preſent inſtance, they were far as the poles aſunder. The contributions levied by the French generals for the ſupport of their troops in the German principalities were ſo heavy as to make the Germans bitterly to regret the milder tyranny of their own petty deſpots; and the troops, fluffed with the pride of victory, indulged in all manner of military licence. The French government had never really or ſeriouſly entertained the deſign of eſta- bliſhing their dominion or influence on the eaſ- tern ſide of the Rhine, and ſince their connec- tion with Pruſſia they were particularly careful not to alarm the court of Berlin by any projects of revolutionizing the empire. The bond of union between them was the deſire of humbling the power of the Auſtrian houſe; which it was now, as at all other times, the true policy of
Great

Great Britain to support and strengthen. When the emperor indulged the wild ambition of aggrandizing himself at the expence of France, and of partitioning her provinces, it would indeed have been not only the highest wisdom, but the truest friendship, in the court of London, to have interposed her powerful and irresistible mediation to restrain these foolish and destructive projects. But circumstances were at present totally changed: France had not only repelled her insolent invaders, but the emperor was in danger of being attacked in his hereditary dominions; and France was now the nation whose vast preponderancy threatened the balance of power and the liberties of Europe. All the feelings which had been originally interested in her favor were now excited against her, and all impartial persons wished to see the armies of France in their turn compelled to abandon their conquests, and regarded the archduke with emotions of affection and admiration, as the glorious and patriotic defender of his native country.

The two invading armies continued their march without meeting any considerable resistance, till that of the Rhine and Moselle, after taking possession of Ulm, Donawert, and other towns in the same direction, arrived, August the 24th, on the banks of the Lech, a large
river

river running into the Danube, and which divides the circles of Suabia and Bavaria. Here a body of Austrians were posted near Augsburg, who disputed the passage very gallantly; but the high fortune of the French prevailed, and general Moreau, entering Bavaria in triumph, took possession of Munich on the 27th. In the mean time the archduke had directed his chief attention to the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under the command of general Jourdain; and contenting himself to remain upon the defensive, strongly entrenched on the right of the Iln, a stream flowing parallel with the Lech, sent very strong reinforcements to general Wartenleben, who commanded on that side of the Danube. In consequence of this seasonable junction, the Austrian general attacked, August 22, the van of Jourdain's army, which had arrived within a few days' march of Ratibon, with forces so superior, that general Bernadotte, who conducted it, was compelled to fall back in confusion upon the main body, which, in the face of a victorious enemy, and in the midst of a country rendered universally hostile by the injuries and the depredations they had sustained, cut off from all communication with France, diminished in its numbers, and hopeless of effecting the intended junction with Moreau, had no option but to retreat. This was not accomplished with-

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out extreme difficulty and very great loss. The inhabitants of the countries through which they had marched now seized with eagerness the favorable moment to retaliate upon the French army, which, loaded with the fruit of their rapine, were more sedulous to escape with their spoils than to incur any further risk of losing their treasure, together with their lives. The Austrian troops also hung on the rear and flanks of the French so closely, that no respite was allowed them ; almost daily conflicts took place, nor did Jourdain think his army in safety, till, repassing Bamberg and Wurtzburg, he gained the banks of the Lower Rhine. In an action near Altenkirchen the French lost a most able officer in general Marceau, a young man whose gallant conduct and rising talents had excited the admiration of his generous adversary the archduke, who caused all military honors to be paid to his memory. By this retreat of the army of the Sambre and Meuse the situation of that of the Rhine and Moselle was rendered extremely critical, as the left flank of Moreau was left uncovered, and a part of the Austrian forces were falling into his rear, while fresh battalions advanced on the side of the Tyrolese, seeming to threaten the surrounding him—the archduke steadily maintaining his position in front, insulated as he now was in the centre of Germany, and

and the garrisons of Mentz, Manheim, and Philippsburg, still remaining in the hands of the enemy. General Moreau had indeed ventured to cross the Iser, in the hope that his farther advances to Vienna would incite the archduke to change his positions, and enable Jourdain to resume the attack. But finding that his imperial highness had joined, September 1st, the army of general Kray at Bamberg, and that the defeat of Jourdain was in consequence complete, he saw the necessity of concentrating his forces, in order to provide for his own safety. He immediately withdrew his troops in the best order from the electorate of Bavaria, and, repassing the Lech, encamped in a strong position between the city of Ulm and the Lake of Constance. Pressed both in front and rear, he determined to give battle to the enemy, and on the 3d of October he gained at Stenhausen a decisive victory over the Austrian general Latour, making no less than five thousand men prisoners. But this advantage was far from extricating him from the great and numerous dangers with which he was environed; since the archduke had succeeded in cutting off all communication with the Rhine, by seizing upon those passes in the Black Forest through which Moreau had to retreat, and in gaining possession of the Villes Fcrestières, which lay

on the Rhine, and which bounded the Swiss territory. An advanced body of Austrians, under the generals Nauendorf and Petrasch, lay in wait to attack the French in front ; while general Latour, now strengthened by reinforcements, pursued them closely in the rear. At the entrance of the Black Forest the mountains rise so boldly, and the defile through which Moreau attempted to force a passage was so narrow, that scarcely could fifty men march abreast. Attacked as he was on all sides, he succeeded beyond all previous expectation and probability in repulsing the efforts of the enemy ; and, in the face of the greatest dangers and the most powerful opposition, he at length brought his army, without any material loss, to Fribourg, through a hostile country 300 miles in extent—making a most courageous and lion-like retreat, often turning upon his pursuers, defeating them in a variety of conflicts, and taking very many prisoners, colors, and cannon.

The winter drawing on, general Moreau abandoned the Brisgau, and passed the Rhine at Brisach and Huninguen, leaving a strong garrison in the fortrefs of Kehl, the trenches before which were opened by the archduke November 25. It was defended with heroic bravery by general Defaix, and was not reduced till the end of the year, the works being converted
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into an heap of ruins. Thus ended the expedition of the French into the imperial territory; and thus successful were the Austrians, under the gallant conduct of their young commander, in overthrowing the gigantic plans of conquest formed in the delirium of uninterrupted prosperity by an exasperated and formidable enemy.

The campaign in Italy this summer was still more interesting and important than that of Germany. During the three preceding years the French had attempted in vain to pierce through Piedmont into the interior of Italy. The immense barrier of mountains which divide that country from Savoy seemed to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to their progress. The republicans were indeed in possession of the coast from Nice to Genoa; but the passes into Lombardy were guarded with such care, that no apprehension seemed to be entertained by the court of Turin, with respect to the future. But in consequence of the magnificent plan of military operations formed this year by Carnot, formerly war-minister, and now a member of the Directory, great reinforcements were sent to the army of Italy, and the command of it entrusted to a young officer of the name of Buonaparte, a native of Corsica, whose extraordinary talents had upon divers recent oc-

cations recommended him to the notice, and had obtained him the confidence, of that most discerning judge of merit.

The first action of the Italian campaign took place near Savona, on the shores of the Mediterranean, in the vicinity of which the French general occupied a post at Voltri, sixteen leagues distant from Genoa. In this situation he was attacked (April 9, 1796) by the Austrian and Sardinian army under general Beaulieu, and driven back to his lines near Savona. Presuming on their success, the Austrians advanced rapidly in the hope of cutting off the retreat of the French troops. General Buonaparte, foreseeing the probability of this sanguine pursuit, detached a body of troops under general Massena, who, taking advantage of the night, gained the rear of the Austrian army. General Beaulieu began the attack near Montenotte at break of day. The success was various, until the division under Massena appeared on the left flank and rear of the enemy. Astonished at this unexpected manœuvre, the Austrians were thrown into the utmost confusion, and fled the field with the loss of 3,500 men, of whom 2,000 were made prisoners. This victory was followed by another far more signal and decisive near the village of Millesimo. General Buonaparte pushing forward to the banks of the Bormida,

Bormida, the Austrians, retreating to the passes of the mountains on the left of this river, halted at Millesimo, and fortified the defiles leading to it. These were assaulted April 11th, with great impetuosity, by general Augereau, and forced after a vigorous resistance. General Provera, with his division of 1,500 Austrian grenadiers, throwing himself into the ruins of an old castle, defended his post with such resolution for several days, that the Austrian army had leisure to rally, and take new positions. On the 17th of April a general engagement took place, and the generals Massena and La Harpe, passing the Bormida, surrounded the left wing of the Austrian army, a great slaughter ensued, and 8,000 men were made prisoners, with thirty-two pieces of cannon. General Provera was immediately obliged, with his brave division, to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

On the following day general Beaulieu surprised the French, reposing in full security after the fatigues of battle, at Dego on the banks of the Bormida, but was nevertheless repulsed with considerable loss. The Piedmontese and Sardinian army now retreated with precipitation towards Turin, being successively driven from the posts of Ceva, Mondovi, and Cherasco. The French troops being within two days' march of that capital, his Sardinian majesty pro-

posed a suspension of arms, which was agreed to on terms dictated by general Buonaparte. A definitive treaty was soon after concluded by the king of Sardinia with the French government at Paris, by which Savoy and Nice were ceded for ever to the republic; the cities of Coni, Alessandria, and Tortona, delivered provisionally into their hands; and the fortresses of Suza and Brunetta, on the French frontier, were totally demolished, leaving the passage to Italy at all times open to the troops of the republic. The hard fortune of the king of Sardinia was the less to be lamented, as, by taking, unprovoked, an early and decided part with the enemies of France, this monarch had entirely departed from those rules of prudence which had in general marked the conduct of the princes of the house of Savoy, whose pride and policy it was to hold the balance of Italy between the two great powers of France and Austria.

The aristocracy of Venice, which, thinking itself hitherto little interested in the events of the war, had manifested an impolitic partiality to Austria, now perceived the necessity of bending before the genius of the Gallic democracy. The count de Provence, eldest brother of the late king of France, and who, since the death of the infant dauphin, had assumed the empty
title

title of Louis XVIII. had resided for some time past in the city of Verona. This phantom of a king now received orders from the Venetian government to withdraw from their territories. On the delivery of the message he asserted his privilege as a Venetian nobleman ; but offered to depart on receiving the sword of Henry IV. presented by him to the republic, and on the farther condition of the erasure of his name from *the Golden Book*. The podesta replied, “ that the latter, at his request, would be easily granted, but the sword of Henry IV. was retained as a pledge for a debt of 12 millions due from him to the republic.”—After wandering about Europe for many months, this unfortunate prince found at last an asylum at Mittau in Courland, where, under the magnificent protection of the court of Petersburg, he was enabled to form a permanent establishment.

In consequence of the repeated disasters experienced by general Beaulieu, that commander determined to retire beyond the Po ; and passing that river at Valenza, he labored assiduously to secure himself from the expected attack of the French at that post. General Buonaparte, marching along the southern bank of that river, reached Placentia early on the 7th of May, and effected his passage at that

place in the course of the same day. Apprized of the approach of the Austrians, who moved along the northern bank of the Po, general Buonaparte encountered the vanguard of their army at Fombio, which was compelled to retreat with loss. Another body, coming up to the assistance of the first, was intercepted and repulsed by general La Harpe; but this advantage was severely purchased by the death of this accomplished officer, who had in 1791, being then an inhabitant of the Pays-de-Vaud, been condemned to death by a judicial commission appointed by the magistracy of Berne, merely for the conspicuous part he had taken as a friend and advocate of the French revolution. General Berthier arrived in the interval, and pursued the enemy to Casal, of which he took possession. The dukes of Parma and Modena, on whose territory the French had entered, were now compelled to sue for peace, which was granted on the condition of paying ten millions of livres, and yielding up a certain number of paintings to adorn the national museum, now forming, at Paris.

The Austrians defeated at Fombio had made good their retreat to Lodi, on the river Adda, where general Beaulieu had concentrated his forces. On the approach of the French they abandoned the town with so much haste that
they

they had not time to destroy the bridge, which was however defended by a most formidable artillery; and the imperial troops were drawn up (May 10) in line of battle to oppose the passage. The major part of the French generals gave it as their opinion that an attempt to force the passage would be too hazardous; but general Buonaparte, apprehending that pernicious consequences might arise from a retreat, gave instant and peremptory orders for the assault. Before day-break a column of carabineers, followed by another of grenadiers, passed the bridge half way, when a general discharge of the Austrian artillery took place, and destroyed about 700 men. The column seemed to be struck with terror—when general Buonaparte in person appeared at their head, and, inspiring fresh courage by the enthusiasm of his example, they rushed forward with resistless impetuosity, amid the cries of “*Vive la République!*” breaking the Austrian line, seizing the batteries, and in a moment dissipating the Imperial troops, who were petrified with astonishment at the successful madness of the enterprize: and Buonaparte himself acknowledged, in his dispatches to the Directory, that of all the actions in which he had been engaged, none equalled the terrible passage of the Bridge of Lodi. While one part of the French
army

army pursued Beaulieu towards Mantua, of which they formed the blockade, the rest entered Milan, the capital of Austrian Lombardy, on the 18th of May, the citadel nevertheless holding out for some weeks.

The dispersion of the Austrian army gave the French general leisure to carry on his various enterprizes against the respective states of Italy. A detachment of troops took possession of Leghorn on the 28th of June, though belonging to a neutral power, on pretext of dislodging the English, whose property was confiscated to the republic, while the main army entered the territory of the ecclesiastical state, and without resistance took possession of the cities of Bologna, Urbino, and Ferrara. Both the pope and the king of Naples now sued for an armistice, which was granted to his Sicilian majesty, with whom the French had no wish to be at variance, on the easy condition of withdrawing all assistance from the allied army. But the pope was obliged not merely to cede the towns in possession of the French, but the city and fortress of Ancona on the Adriatic; also to pay the sum of 21 millions of francs; and to deliver one hundred pictures, busts, statues, or vases, at the option of the commissioners who should be sent to Rome for that purpose, to be deposited as trophies of war, and ornaments

ments of peace, in the national museum of France.

The court of Vienna, confounded and alarmed at the progress of the French in Italy, now conferred the chief command of all their force in that country upon that brave and experienced officer marshal Wurmser, who, assembling the shattered remains of Beaulieu's army, and strengthening them with great reinforcements, crossed the Adige towards the end of July, and attacked the posts of Sala and Corona, which covered the city of Mantua, the blockade of which was immediately raised by the French, and not without considerable loss. The Austrians, emboldened by this success, made themselves masters of the immense magazines formed by the French near Brescia, and, by the skilful exertions of the new general, in a great measure cut off the communication of the French army with the Milanese.

The reigning pope, Pius VI. a man of warm passions, and totally devoid of political discernment or discretion, no sooner received the intelligence of these successes, than he sent his vice-legate to take possession of Ferrara, now evacuated by the French, notwithstanding the sage and friendly remonstrances of the chevalier Azzara, the Spanish ambassador, a man of an highly-enlightened mind and excellent talents,
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who justly represented this step as a direct violation of the armistice between his holiness and the republic. The Ferrarese seemed by no means delighted in thus reverting to the papal dominion, and it was not without difficulty that they would permit the arms of the Roman government to be restored. General Buonaparte, seeing himself in danger of being surrounded, suddenly withdrew his troops from Verona and the banks of the Adige, and by a forced march regained possession of Brescia. He then collected his forces near the village of Castiglione, between the Lake of Garda and the city of Mantua, marshal Wurmser having likewise taken a position in the same vicinity. The two armies joined battle on the 5th of August with the most obstinate resolution. The conflict was renewed on the next and several following days; but it terminated at length in the total defeat of the Austrians, who were obliged to repass the Adige with very great loss, leaving the country around Mantua in possession of the French, who again formed the blockade of that important place. One great cause of the loss of this battle was the defection of several brigades of Polish troops who served in the Imperial army, but who were afterwards formed into a legion, and entered into the service of the French republic.

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Upon this misfortune general Wurmser retreated to the passes of the Tyrol, whither he was followed by general Brune. And on the 4th of September the Austrians were again attacked in their entrenched camp of Mori, which they were compelled to abandon, with the city of Roveredo, where they had established their magazines, and take refuge in the strong post of Calliano, not far distant from the city of Trent. But in this almost impregnable position they were once more assailed by general Massena, who, after a long and obstinate conflict, defeated the Austrians, reducing them to the necessity of retiring, with the loss of 6,000 men and 20 pieces of cannon, to the valley of the Brenta. General Buonaparte, instead of attempting the impracticable passes of the Tyrol, closely pursued the Austrians to the banks of the Brenta; and at Bassano, on that river, the Imperialists again suffered a total discomfiture; but by rapid and incessant marches general Wurmser, fighting his way through the enemy, succeeded in gaining the city of Mantua, into which he threw himself and the remnant of his wearied and shattered army.

Genoa, after repeated efforts to maintain her neutrality, was compelled to yield to the menaces of the French; and, by a convention signed October 9, agreed to shut up her ports
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against the English. Treaties of peace were formally ratified with Naples and Parma ; but it was found difficult to conclude a final settlement with the pope, of whom very hard conditions were exacted. He was required to set at liberty all persons, whether French or natives, who were held in confinement on account of political opinions ; to desist from all persecution on account of religious opinions ; to abolish the tribunal of the Inquisition ; to renounce all title to Avignon and the Venaisin ; to pay 300,000 livres per month during the war ; to leave Ferrara and Bologna, with their legations, to the disposal of the French ; to concede various specified commercial advantages ; and to give to all these conditions a prompt and unreserved assent. The pope held a congregation of cardinals to deliberate on the terms thus offered, who unanimously agreed that they were subversive both of the rights of religion and sovereignty ; and a rejection immediately followed.

At this period all Italy seemed to be heaving from its political basis. The government of Naples, to which such favorable conditions of peace had been recently granted, because it did not suit the views or interests of the French to carry their arms into that distant quarter, was known to be sunk to the lowest pitch of imbecillity

becillity and depravity. The tyranny of papal Rome, consolidated by the ignorance and folly of successive ages, now manifestly tottered to its fall; and Lombardy, divided amidst a number of petty despots, catching the strong contagion of the revolutionary spirit, aspired to the rank and dignity of a free and independent nation. The whole country south of the Po, Genoa excepted, now in possession of the French, appointed delegates, to the number of one hundred, to meet in convention at the city of Modena; the ducal government being previously dissolved, and the duke of Modena himself, notwithstanding his armistice with France, having abandoned his territory, and virtually abdicated his sovereignty. The Convention met on the 16th of October, 1796, and immediately decreed that there should be a sincere and indissoluble union between the four states of Bologna, Reggio, Modena, and Ferrara—the new federation taking, from its geographical situation, the name of the Cispadane Republic. And, with the approbation of the French general, a delegation was sent to Milan, styled by them the Transpadane Republic, in order to establish between the two powers the bands of political union and fraternity. In return, the administrators of the provisional government of Milan were permitted

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to send deputies to the general congress of the Cispadane Confederacy, now removed to Reggio, and which, about the end of the year, resolved themselves henceforth into a republic, one and indivisible, on the model of France.

In the mean time the emperor, anxious to the last degree for the fate of general Wurmser and the numerous garrison inclosed in the fortress of Mantua, ordered field-marshal Alvinzi, an officer of high reputation for military talents, and the third commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces in Italy during this campaign, to assemble an army on the borders of the Tyrol, descending thence in two grand divisions along the Adige and Piava to Verona, which was the head-quarters of the French army. Marshal Alvinzi, who commanded in person the latter division, having passed the Piava and Brenta, encountered the van of the French conducted also in person by general Buonaparte, who, after a sharp conflict, compelled his antagonist to repass the Brenta. But the Tyrol division having defeated the forces opposed to them under general Vaubois, it became necessary for Buonaparte to retreat, in order to defend the passes of the Adige. The Austrian general, now thinking the junction of the two divisions infallible, flattered himself with the sanguine hope of raising, in a short time,

time, the blockade of Mantua; but general Buonaparte, discerning clearly the fatal consequences of such an event, resolved immediately to risk a general attack on the army of Alvinzi, which had again advanced as far as the Adige. Crossing therefore that river in the night of the 4th of November, the French general advanced early in the morning to the village of Arcole, through which he must necessarily force his passage in order to execute his plan. The village was strongly situated amid morasses and canals; and the bridge which led to it was defended with every effort of military skill and valor. For the whole day the contest was continued to the manifest disadvantage of the French, who lost in the attempt some of their best officers, and a very great number of men. At length a detachment of the French, taking a long circuit, carried the village by an impetuous assault in the rear, but the Austrians had previously withdrawn their artillery and baggage. The way being now open, on the 6th of November, at day-break, the French commenced a general action: the centre of the Austrians soon gave way, but, the wings being secured by the strength of their position, no material impression could be made. In the night, general Buonaparte caused bridges to be thrown over the impracticable parts of the

morafs, and the next morning the battle was renewed with tenfold fury; but, by a series of skilful manœuvres, the French having turned the flanks of the Austrian army, and a corps placed in ambuscade falling upon their rear, a general confusion took place, and the Austrians fled on all sides, and a complete though bloody victory was gained. “Never (said general Buonaparte in his dispatches) was field of battle so valorously disputed as that of Arcole.” The other division under general Davidovitch, which had obtained signal advantages over general Vaubois, and had advanced within a short distance of Mantua, were now obliged, by general Buonaparte, who joined Vaubois in person with reinforcements, to fall back with considerable loss into the mountains of the Tyrol. General Alvinzi now again repassed the Brenta, leaving Mantua to its fate; but the gallant veteran, Wurmser, continued to defend that important fortress with invincible pertinacity.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of Alvinzi's expedition, the pope did not seem the more inclined to accede to the terms of accommodation offered him. Previous to the battle of Arcole, general Buonaparte had written with his own hand (October 26) a letter to cardinal Mattei, archbishop of Ferrara, entreating him to repair to Rome, and prevail, if possible,

possible, upon his holiness to reflect upon the nature of his situation and the necessity of acting conformably to his true interest, and declaring that peace was the wish of the republic. At the end of six weeks an answer arrived from the cardinal, stating, “ that his holiness, as sovereign pontiff and depositary on earth of the precepts promulgated by the Saviour of Mankind, had ever been solicitous for the preservation of harmony in the great family of Christians; that he had felt the extremest sorrow in seeing France delivered up to such wild excesses, and the children of the church plunging themselves into such horrible disorders; that the gentleness with which he had treated these wanderers from the fold of Christ was so far from having its due effect, that, blinded by the success of their arms, the French government had exacted from him the overthrow and total destruction of religion, the Gospel, and the church; that his holiness, after devoutly asking counsel of God, and recalling to mind the example of the antient martyrs, was decided to try the chance of war.” To give efficacy to this decision, extraordinary levies were ordered to be made in the ecclesiastical state. The papal army was likewise reinforced by a considerable corps of German troops, and count Colli appointed to the chief command. The warlike ardor of the pope

seemed, however, to all but himself, more an object of ridicule than apprehension. Very many of his subjects awaited with impatience the arrival of the French legions; and the inhabitants of the imperial city of Rome, who had imbibed the prevailing revolutionary spirit, triumphed in the sanguine expectation of the restoration, after the lapse of so many ages, of the Roman republic, in all the fascination of its antient forms and titles.

The naval and miscellaneous events of the present campaign are yet to be related. Since the autumn of 1793, several posts had been maintained in the island of St. Domingo, with great difficulty, and at an immense expense of blood and treasure to Great Britain. In six months after the landing, it was computed that six thousand lives, including 130 officers, had been lost by that horrid pestilential disorder known by the name of the yellow-fever. The *gens de couleur*, and negroes, who possessed the whole power of the island, and had expelled or extinguished the white inhabitants, contenting themselves with the quiet enjoyment of the interior of the country, suffered the English to retain their fatal conquests on the coast.

In the month of May the island of St. Lucia was recovered by the exertions of general Abercrombie, not without a vigorous resistance on the

the part of the French garrison. The insurrections, also, excited chiefly by the insidious arts of the celebrated Victor Hugues, in the islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, &c. were finally quelled, after much bloodshed.

A French squadron under the French admiral Richery, notwithstanding the great naval superiority of England, found means to succeed in an expedition to Newfoundland, where they burnt and destroyed British property to a vast amount. On the other hand, the Dutch squadron equipped early in the spring, for the purpose of re-capturing the colony of the Cape, under the command of admiral Lucas, sailed for greater security north about, and at length arrived, after a prosperous voyage, at Saldanha Bay, where they were attacked by admiral Elphinstone, who had been sent from England in order to intercept them. The crews of the different vessels mutinying against their captains, and declaring themselves in the interest of the prince of Orange, insisted upon their being delivered up to the English, which the Dutch admiral was obliged to comply with. The squadron consisted of seven sail of ships of war of different force.

In the course of the present year, also, the greatest part of the Dutch settlements in the East fell almost without resistance into the hands of

the English ; amongst the rest Trincomale in the island of Ceylon, inferior in importance only to the city of Batavia.

In the month of October, the island of Corsica, the favorite conquest of the war, was evacuated by the English. Although, when the reign of Jacobinism was at the height, the Corsican nation appeared passively to acquiesce in the dominion of the king of Great Britain, no sooner was a regular government established in France than they shewed their extreme solicitude to be re-united to that country, and to shake off their new allegiance. The victories of Buonaparte carried to the height the popular enthusiasm. The viceroy, sir Gilbert Elliot, perceiving, in the course of a tour which he ventured to make into the interior of the island, not without personal hazard, the universal fermentation which prevailed, and dreading a sudden explosion—the Corsicans, now joined by a body of French under general Gentili, having assembled in great force—gave notice that he was preparing to withdraw his troops. At Bastia, and St. Fiorenzo, however, this was not done without some resistance and bloodshed : a great part of the magazines also fell into the hands of the enemy. Immediately the Corsicans, forming themselves into primary assemblies, sent a deputation to the French commissioners in Italy, formally

mally to renounce the title of subjects of the king of England, and to renew their oaths as citizens of the French republic. Thus in a moment vanished this transient farce and phantom of royalty ; and thus did the red republican cap of liberty supersede and displace that most egregious and ridiculous bauble, the crown of Corsica.

Ever since the unfortunate recall of lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland, that kingdom had been in a state of lamentable distraction, of which the French demonstrated their eagerness to make all possible advantage. An armament had been for a long time preparing in the harbour of Brest, intended to cover a descent into that country ; but, from various unavoidable causes of delay, it did not sail till the 10th of December. It consisted of no less than eighteen ships of the line and thirteen frigates, and was commanded by vice-admiral Bouvet, having under convoy a great fleet of transports, with 25,000 men on board, under the conduct of the celebrated general Hoche. Nothing but misfortunes attended this attempt, which the season of the year rendered very dangerous. On its first departure several of the ships of war were lost or materially damaged in the passage of the Raz ; and a hard gale springing up, the commander-in-chief was separated from the body

of the fleet, which cast anchor, in a very shattered state, in Bantry Bay. After waiting some days in vain for the arrival of general Hoche, who was the only person entrusted with the orders of government, the admiral determined to return to Brest, which he effected with great difficulty, one ship of the line and two frigates foundering at sea. Another ship of the line was driven on the coast, and a frigate captured by the English. The only consolation remaining to the French was, that the project was frustrated not by the naval power of England, but by the dreadful hostility of storms and tempests. The most remarkable circumstance attending this projected invasion was the violently inimical disposition which manifested itself with respect to the invaders on the part of the inhabitants of Ireland, notwithstanding their present state of discontent, resentment, and supposed disaffection. The accounts published by the government, which were confirmed by many private letters, stated, that the disposition of the country where the troops had assembled was as favorable as possible; that the greatest loyalty had displayed itself throughout the kingdom; that the country people had furnished the troops with provisions, and all sorts of accommodation to facilitate their march; and that every demonstration had been given of the zeal and ardor of
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the nation to oppose the enemy in every place where it could be imagined a descent might be attempted. "During their march (says the lord-lieutenant in his official dispatches to the duke of Portland) the utmost attention was paid them by the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which they passed; so that in many places the meat provided by the commissioners was not consumed. The roads which had been rendered impassable by the snow were cleared by the peasantry." Doubtless these poor mistaken people thought, that, after such decisive expressions of their loyalty, in such critical circumstances, the government might deem its security not endangered by restoring them to the rights of subjects and of citizens;—but they were doomed, by terrible experience, at once to discover and to expiate their error.

While France, by the success of her arms, was lessening the number of her enemies in Europe, she experienced great chagrin in finding her influence much on the decline in the United States of America. It was supposed that national honor, if not national gratitude, would have prevented the government of America from seizing the opportunity when the French republic was struggling for her very existence to throw itself into the arms of her most potent enemy. It was therefore with equal surprise

surprize and indignation that the French government heard of the conclusion of the treaty negotiated by Mr. Jay—the spirit of which was so evidently in opposition to the treaties already existing between America and France, that it was generally imagined, on both sides of the Atlantic, an open breach between the two nations must have been the immediate consequence. For some time past, the conduct of the American administration towards the Gallic republic had been cold and distant; nor did the recall and disgrace of M. Genet, whose acts of personal disrespect to the president had induced the French government to make this solemn reparation, effect any change in its favor. A momentary gleam of reconciliation had been thrown across this shade of discontent by the arrival at Paris of the new ambassador from the American states, Mr. Monro—whose character was held in the highest estimation, and whose principles were known to be decidedly hostile to France. But the treaty concluded so soon afterwards with England taught the republic what confidence they ought to repose in a government with whom, as it was said, interest and avarice were perceived to be the predominant motives of action. The treaty was affirmed to discover a disposition altogether inimical to France, and the provisions of it to
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be wholly incompatible with the faintest idea of amity. By the treaty of 1778, still in force, the United States guarantied to France the possession of their West-India colonies ;—by the treaty of 1795, they consented that even supplies of provisions sent to those islands should be treated as illegal commerce. Still hope were entertained that stipulations so hostile to the interests of France, so contrary to the spirit, not merely of amity, but of neutrality, would not have been sanctioned by the American legislature. Notwithstanding the predominance of British influence in the senate, and the determined dislike of the president to the more recent conduct of France, there existed powerful reasons for the refusal of such ratification : and all France heard with indignation of the governmental act which finally confirmed the treaty, which was attended with the aggravating circumstance, that on the 7th of April (1796) a resolution passed the house of representatives, declaring the treaty in question “ to be highly injurious to the interests of America, and that it was not expedient for that house to concur in passing the laws necessary to carry it into effect.”—Yet, on the 30th of the same month, a vote of approval was carried, doubtless through the influence of the executive government, though by a small majority. The Directory,

rectory, however, had the prudence to abstain from actual hostilities; but, regarding the Americans in the light of real, if not avowed, enemies, they made such depredations on their trade, under different pretexts, as almost amounted to a commercial war: and a directorial arrêt was issued, 14th of Messidor, 4th year, (July 3, 1796) expressly enjoining French ships of war to observe the same conduct towards the vessels of neutral nations as they had hitherto suffered with impunity from the English.

Toward the close of the summer Mr. Monro was recalled from his embassy, to the great additional dissatisfaction of the French government, which refused to receive his successor, Mr. Pinckney, in the same capacity:—and M. Adet, the French resident in Philadelphia, notified, November 23, to the American government, that the Directory had suspended him from the exercise of his functions. But this was not till Adet had charged the governing powers “with permitting, by a perfidious condescension, the English to violate a right which the United States ought for their own honor and interest to defend, and presenting to England a poniard to be used against the French republic, their ally, under the cloak of neutrality.” The speech of the president to Congress,

gress, (December the 7th, 1796) seemed, on the other hand, to contain both a reflection and a menace in respect to France. After complaining of the extensive injuries suffered by the American Congress from the cruisers and agents of the French republic, and the alarming nature of the communications received from its minister, he expresses his hope "that a spirit of justice and candor on the part of that republic, may yet eventually ensure success to his earnest endeavours for the preservation of peace; but in pursuing this course he would not forget what was due to the character of the American government and nation." Such was the state of things, when general Washington resigned his government in the spring of 1797; and, retiring to his paternal seat on the banks of the Potowmac, again resumed, after an illustrious display of public virtues and talents, the character and station of a private citizen. Whether, under the pressure of those perplexing embarrassments in which he was involved during the latter years of his administration, his conduct was perfectly correct, is a question respecting which it may be allowable to pause. But, to use his own words, "at all events he had the consolatory reflection that none could serve his country with purer intentions than he had done, or with a more disinterested zeal."

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On the 1st of March, 1796, a National Convention of the inhabitants of the Seven United Provinces was summoned to meet at the Hague, and a constitution established nearly upon the model of the French republic. One of the first acts of the new government was to declare war against England, which had long since authorized hostilities against Holland; and had, by this, deprived the Dutch of a great part of those possessions which it was pretended, by the most shallow of deceits, to be a chief object of the present war to protect and defend. The revolution in this country had been conducted upon principles of equity and moderation which did great honor to the leaders of it. Excepting the grand-pensionary, M. Van Spiegel, who was imprisoned, no one was punished for his previous acts or opinions; nor was any disposition manifested to retaliate upon those who had been most deeply concerned in the severe prosecution of the patriots which took place after the ineffectual and unseasonable attempt of 1787. The conduct of the French government in relation to Holland was, upon the whole, candid and generous. The contributions exacted from the inhabitants were indeed heavy; but, considering the riches of the country, and the protection afforded them, could scarcely be regarded as excessive. The real
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wish of France was to attach the Dutch nation to her interests, as her friend and ally ; and possessing all the power, and, if she chose to exercise them, all the rights of a conqueror, she adopted the wise policy of avoiding any considerable or direct interference in the interior administration of their government, relying securely upon the general disposition which existed in her favor, upon their contempt of the abdicated stadtholder, and their inexpressible detestation of England. The National Assembly of Batavia, by which appellation the Dutch convention chose to be distinguished, decreed, in imitation of that of France, the abolition of the national church, resolving henceforth to defray the expense of no form of worship, but allowing pensions or indemnities to those who might suffer by the present reform. Upon the whole, the policy of France respecting Holland at this period formed a striking contrast to that of Louis XIV. in the year 1672 ; and the military and other requisitions of the French were in the highest degree favorable, when compared with the extravagant demands of that merciless tyrant, which were such as to throw the republic into absolute despair, determining those who scorned to bow their necks to the yoke to renounce the country of their fathers, and to transport themselves and their families across the
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the mighty deep, to seek, in the bosom of the Indian Ocean, an asylum from royal bigotry and barbarity. But from this state of extreme political depression they were happily rescued by the magnanimous exertions of a hero and patriot, whose name and memory will be revered as long as liberty and virtue shall be deemed worthy of the esteem, or command the admiration, of mankind.

Although, on the first establishment of the new constitution of France, the persons who composed the executive government seemed inclined to favor the faction of the Jacobins; (the majority having been themselves originally of the Mountain party) conceiving it expedient to adopt measures of severity with respect to those concerned in the insurrection of Vendémiaire, who were opposed to the faction of the Jacobins, it was soon apparent that the bulk of this dangerous faction would never peaceably acquiesce in the present, or indeed in any permanent, order of things. The major part of the Jacobins, who had been placed in offices immediately under the government, were gradually dismissed; the police and municipality of Paris, where they possessed a decided ascendancy, underwent a severe scrutiny; the military force of that great city was reformed; and the alarm excited by these different measures

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was at length wrought up to purposes of vengeance, when their assemblies were dispersed by order of government, and their places of meeting shut up. For the space of six weeks confused rumors prevailed of a projected insurrection of the Jacobins. On the evening of the 9th of May, 1796, considerable bodies of cavalry were stationed in the neighbourhood of the Luxembourg and the Tuilleries, by order of the Directory; and the Pont Neuf was strongly guarded. On the morning of the 10th, the guard of the Directory and the legislative bodies was tripled, the streets were patrolled, and the gardens of the Luxembourg were shut. On the same day the Council of Five Hundred received a message from the Executive Directory, informing them that a horrible conspiracy was prepared to burst forth the following morning at break of day; that the design of the conspirators was to murder the Executive Directory, the members of the two councils, the constituted authorities of Paris, and to deliver up the city to pillage and massacre; and that the leading conspirators were actually seized. Among these persons were, Drouet, remarkable as the man who had arrested the king in his flight to Varennes; Laignelot, an ex-deputy of the National Convention, and a member of the infamous Committee of Safety;

Charles, Ricard, and Babeuf, styling himself Gracchus Babeuf, once the associate of Marat of infamous memory, who had fallen under the virtuous dagger of a modern Judith; Rosignol, ex-general of La Vendée; Amar, a notorious terrorist, &c. were also of the number: but Vadier and Robert Lindet effected their escape. Judging from the papers transmitted by the Directory to the councils, none of the various conspiracies which had convulsed the republic was more daring than the present, or had been more completely organized. A national convention, committees of general and public safety, and a municipality of Paris, were to be immediately formed, and to administer in a revolutionary manner till the establishment of the constitution of 1793. No doubt the aim of the Directory was to make the present conspiracy appear as black and atrocious as possible; and there is indeed reason to believe that the foundations of it were both deeply laid and widely extended, but the timely discovery of this plot occasioned the public alarm to subside almost as soon as it was excited. Babeuf, and divers of his accomplices, were tried by the high criminal court at Vendome, convicted, and put to death. Insurrections and disturbances in different parts of the country, excited by the Jacobins, were quickly suppressed—the authority

city of the new government being, as usual in such cases, more firmly established by this abortive attempt to subvert it. But the Jacobins and royalists throughout France joined in exclaiming against the tyranny of the Directory, and in representing this plot, popularly styled the Conspiracy of Floreal, as having no real existence.

The affairs of finance greatly occupied the attention of the French government at this period. The credit of the assignats had been so much depreciated as to render that paper altogether useless. An order was therefore made to sell the remainder of the national domains at a low valuation, for which a new paper fabrication, under the name of *mandats*, was to be received in payment as money: but, owing to causes which foreigners are ill able to develop, this paper fell almost immediately to the same or even a greater degree of depreciation than the assignats. Recourse was then had to the expedient of a forced loan, the produce of which fell far short of expectation; and the sanguine hopes of the English minister were again excited by the heavy and repeated complaints of the Directory of the impoverished state of the public revenue:—but persons of deeper penetration were perfectly aware that the physical resources of such a country

as France could never be really and truly exhausted, and that, under the government of able men, the political means could never be wanting of bringing those resources into action.

It being decreed, by an article of the new constitution, that no one should be disturbed in the exercise of religious worship, provided he conformed to the laws, the constitutional priests, who, during the Robespierrian tyranny, had been involved in one common proscription with those who refused the oaths to government, again took possession of the churches, though unendowed, under the authority of the different communes. Meanwhile the non-juring priests continued to exercise their profession, and found every-where devotees who considered them as the only sure guides in the road to salvation; and a great schism arose in France between the two sects of Catholics. The conforming clergy, desirous to preserve their reputation for religious orthodoxy, which they held to be perfectly consistent with an attachment to republicanism, had, so early as the spring of 1795, convened a kind of synod for the purpose of examining into the state of the desolated church, and to take measures for the re-establishment of ecclesiastical discipline, and the restoration of public worship. The bishops who composed this synod, now reduced to the state of primitive

tive episcopacy, published a circular letter addressed to the Faithful in Christ, and containing a declaration of principles little differing from those which had formed the creed of the Gallican church. The pope was admitted to be their visible head; and the whole of the doctrines taught by the Apostolic and Roman church, defined by the œcumenical councils, and explained by Bossuet, were adopted as the standard of the Catholic faith. In the government of the church, episcopacy was acknowledged to be of divine original, and the authority exercised by the hierarchy was consequently asserted to be of divine right. This authority they immediately exercised, by formally expelling from their communion such as they adjudged to be unworthy of their profession, or to have incurred in any mode the guilt of apostasy during the late period of persecution; amongst whom they reckoned those who had renounced their functions, or had contracted marriage. But the offence which most excited their indignation was what they were pleased to style the crime of LAICISM, which they defined to be the usurpation of priestly offices, declaring it to participate of the double character of error and sacrilege. The laymen, who were the objects of this priestly anathema, were those who presided at the religious assemblies of the

people, where no ecclesiastic was to be found—a practice, during the violence of the Robespierrian persecution, by no means uncommon in France. Possessing not the shadow of temporal power, or the remotest prospect of acquiring it, this humble-minded synod declared, in a second letter or address published at the close of the year, their authority to be merely spiritual. After denouncing their censures and anathemas, they avowed the distinctive characteristic of Christianity to be charity! Reluctant to acknowledge any jurisdiction superior to their own, they affirmed that the bishop of Rome was first in dignity only, and not in power; and, the storm of persecution having yet scarcely ceased, they inculcated the principle of toleration with great earnestness. Upon the whole, though there is no reason to doubt but that this self-created synod might be composed of virtuous and respectable individuals, the spirit of priestly domination, alike in all ages, in all countries, and under all circumstances, appeared extremely conspicuous in all its proceedings; and the assembly being again convoked at Versailles, in the month of March in the following year (1796), were immediately dispersed by an order from the executive power. In all other respects the new government maintained a wise neutrality between the contending parties,

parties, and appeared to concern itself little or nothing in the contest.

Under the auspices of the Directory a grand literary and scientific association, bearing the appellation of the National Institute, was at this period founded in France. At their first public meeting, April 4, 1796, in the great hall of the Louvre, the president of the Directory made a speech, in which he declared it to be the steadfast purpose of the government to revive the drooping arts, and to shield both learning and liberty from all the attacks of ferocious anarchy. More than fifteen hundred spectators were present on this solemn occasion, who testified their joy by the loudest acclamation. Defaulx, president of the Institute, replied, "that every member of that society felt the most ardent desire to concur in advancing the prosperity of the republican government, and would aim, in giving lustre to their own names, to add splendor to that of their country;—that the republic of letters existed before the other, and its spirit could neither be enfeebled nor subdued; and that, amidst those whom it animated, the love of glory would ever be the support of liberty." During the recital of this speech every heart swelled with emotion, every eye melted in tears, at the sad recollection of the past, combined with the soothing hopes of

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the future ; and the magnificence of the spectacle suggested the interesting idea of a great nation rising, in a manner worthy of itself, from that abyss of calamity in which she had been so long lost and overwhelmed.

In the spring of this year the Directory sent over commissioners to investigate the state of the island of St. Domingo, according to whose report, towards the end of the summer, the desolation which had overspread this colony during five years of massacre and anarchy had now ceased, and perfect tranquillity was at length restored. By other concomitant accounts, however, it appeared that this tranquillity had been obtained by the almost total extirpation of the white inhabitants, who, unfortunately for themselves, had refused to submit to the famous decree of emancipation, passed the 16th Pluviose, in the second year of the republic (February 5, 1794). The negroes and *gens de couleur* were in actual possession of all the power and all the property of the island ; and the tyranny so justly complained of, formerly in the planter, was now more inhumanly exercised by the slave, who, set loose at once from all restraint, felt a savage thirst for vengeance, which he gratified without control. Such was the fate of this fine country, once one of the principal sources of the wealth of France ; but
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which precipitate humanity, mistaking the means for the end, and avaricious cruelty, opposing every alleviation of human misery, had nearly succeeded in bringing to utter ruin. The French government deemed it expedient to acquiesce in a state of things, which, in present circumstances, they could not redress. The island was effectually defended by its present possessors from the invasion of the English, destructive only to themselves : and as they at the same time acknowledged, though in vague terms, the authority of the republic, hopes were no doubt entertained that such a dependency upon France might be eventually preserved as would answer the commercial purposes with a view to which this great and flourishing colony was founded ; although many conceived that this extraordinary state of things would more probably terminate in the establishment of a great mulatto republic in the noblest island of the Western Ocean.

The English government having promulgated at this period a declaration, allowing the exportation of goods to the Netherlands and the United Provinces, decrees were published by the two governments of France and Holland, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the importation of English goods into the territories of the two republics. The Dutch in particular
declared

declared "this precarious favor to be the fruit of perfidy, and an insult which ought to be rejected with indignation." But such essential inconveniences resulted to themselves from this prohibition, that it was either silently evaded or fell gradually into neglect and disuse, and Great Britain still supplied, either mediately or immediately, all Europe with the product of her immense commerce and industry.

In the month of August (1796) a most singular political phenomenon presented itself in the Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, concluded between the crown of Spain and the republic of France; and which, however incongruous such a connection might at first view seem, was really founded on principles of sound policy. France obtained commercial emolument, and Spain civil and political security. The two contracting powers mutually guarantied each other's possessions; and either power engaged, in case of attack, to furnish the other with large succours by sea and land, to be at the disposal of the requiring power. The treaty was prospective merely, and to take place at the end of the present war, with the exception of England only—that being declared the only power against which Spain had direct grievances: and that his Catholic majesty should remain neuter with respect to
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the other powers armed against the republic. This was the certain prelude to a declaration of war on the part of Spain against Great Britain, which took place in a few weeks, the manifesto of the king of Spain bearing date October the 5th. The causes of offence enumerated in this declaration, framed under the over-ruling influence of France, are for the most part, when considered as excitements to war, very frivolous; but they served to prove that Spain, as well as all the other maritime states of Europe, felt the greatest jealousy and resentment at the manner in which Great Britain had exercised her naval superiority. "By these insults, (says the Catholic king) equally deep and unparalleled, that nation has proved to the universe that she recognizes no other laws than the aggrandizement of her commerce; and by her despotism, which has exhausted my patience and moderation, she has forced me, as well to support the honor of my crown as to protect my people against her attacks, to declare war against the king of England, his kingdom, and *vassals*."

A very important transaction of the present year, comprehended under the general miscellaneous branch of arrangement, remains to be narrated. The English cabinet, in the beginning of March, had commissioned its ambassador

sador to the Helvetic States, Mr. Wickham, to enquire of the government of France, through the medium of M. Barthelemi, who had negotiated, and was still negotiating, divers treaties of peace at Basle, concerning its disposition to enter into a negotiation ; at the same time signifying that he was not authorized to enter into any discussion upon the subject of his note. M. Barthelemi was in a short time instructed to answer, “ that the executive government of France ardently desired to procure for the republic a just, honorable, and solid peace ; but that an indispensable condition of it was the retaining possession of those conquests which had actually been annexed to the territory of the republic. The Constitutional Act (says the official note of M. Barthelemi) does not permit the Directory to consent to any alienation of that which, according to the existing laws, constitutes the territory of the republic.” Offence was taken, notwithstanding the acceptance of the overture of England, at the secret and insidious mode in which it was made. “ The step taken by Mr. Wickham (says M. Barthelemi) would have afforded to the Directory a real satisfaction, if the declaration itself of his not having any power to negotiate did not give room to doubt of the sincerity of the pacific intentions of his court. Is it that
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this step has had no other object than to obtain for the British government the favorable impression which always accompanies the first overtures for peace? May it not have been accompanied with the hope that they would produce no effect?"—Although the overture of the English court was certainly cold and distant, as the government of France did not in the first instance reject it, the impolicy, not to say the injustice, of such a construction, was manifest: and if the English minister was really insincere, the conduct of the Directory furnished as plausible a pretext as could be wished for desisting from their pretended purpose. No sooner was the answer to Mr. Wickham's note received by the court of London, than a declaration was published, containing a most acrimonious comment upon the principles comprized in it. "This court (says the declaration) has seen with regret how far the tone and spirit of that answer, the nature and extent of the demands which it contains, and the manner of announcing them, are remote from any disposition for peace. The inadmissible pretension is there avowed of appropriating to France all that the laws actually existing there may have comprized under the denomination of French territory. To a demand such as this is added an express declaration, that no propo-

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sal contrary to it will be made or even listened to; and even this, under the pretence of an internal regulation, the provisions of which are wholly foreign to all other nations. While these dispositions shall be persisted in, nothing is left for the king but to prosecute a war equally just and necessary." All this is doubtless very plausible, and it bears the evident stamp and impression of a minister who has been characteristically described as possessing every talent for the conduct of great affairs consistent with cunning, and, as it might properly have been added, with pride and obstinacy. But the whole procedure is, notwithstanding, destitute of the real and essential marks of political sagacity and ability.

For, *first*, if it were the sincere intention and desire of the government of Great Britain to re-establish the relations of peace and amity with that of France, why should the ministers of England hesitate, in the first instance, to recognize the republic by name; whereas that obnoxious term was carefully and insultingly avoided in the official note of Mr. Wickham. And, *secondly*, why shun a direct application to the French government, stating their own sincere desire of peace, on honorable terms, by an agent or ambassador authorized to enter upon the discussion? The Directory, however, acted fairly
and

and openly in the avowal that no territory, united by the Constitutional Act to France, would be relinquished by any subsequent treaty. The reason assigned for this determination might, with so captious an enemy as the court of London, have been better omitted ; though, when such a resolution was once formed, it signified little to the adversaries of France upon what basis it rested. The annexation of the provinces in question to the republic was a reason valid only to themselves ; and the notification of it to England indicated merely that the resolution was considered by the Directory as irreversible. In reply to this reasoning, it was undoubtedly sufficient for England to say, that the same power which united could disunite, and that the restoration of these provinces could not be, politically speaking, impracticable. But it was altogether idle and superfluous to enter into the investigation of an abstract question. France declared herself irrevocably determined not to relinquish certain of her conquests, amongst which, by far the most important in the view of England, were the Austrian Low Countries. It was for England to consider whether it were more eligible to continue the war, or to accede with a good grace to this unpleasant basis of pacification. To enter into an argument respecting an abstract politico-metaphysic

metaphysic right, and especially to urge it acrimoniously and reproachfully, could tend only to counteract and destroy that spirit of conciliation upon which the success of any future negotiation must in a great degree depend. Had the fortune of the war proved favorable to England, and France had demanded the restoration of Corsica, no doubt the court of London would have replied in the language used by the Directory, that this restitution could not be complied with, for that Corsica had been *annexed* to the imperial crown of Great Britain. Had the Directory exclaimed against the absurdity and arrogance of this answer, it might properly have been softened and explained, by saying, that, undoubtedly, the annexation of Corsica to the British crown did not, politically speaking, preclude its restoration by treaty to France, but that the act of annexation merely indicated the determination of the court of London never to relinquish this conquest. When great statesmen differ, it is always about things really important, and never about mere words or forms of expression.

Upon the whole, this overture, thus injudiciously and unsuccessfully made, left an unfavorable impression upon the minds of the French government and nation, which had been greatly embittered against England by many preceding

preceding events. Although the war had first broken out with Austria and Prussia, it was generally believed in France that the English cabinet had secretly fomented that quarrel, of which, in a short time, it became the grand and almost only support. Regarding England, therefore, as the source of all their calamities, the French could scarcely look towards that country without passionate resentment for the desolation and horrors of which it had been the cause, and which the British ministry still appeared desirous to perpetrate.—Such was the state of things, when the court of London, alarmed at the critical situation of its ally the emperor, and the growing unpopularity of the war at home, made another attempt, either real or pretended, to effect a pacification with France.

On the 6th of September lord Grenville addressed a note to count Wedel-Jarlsberg, the Danish ambassador at London, requesting that he would transmit, through the medium of his Danish majesty's resident at Paris, to the Executive Directory, the declaration inclosed, purporting "his Britannic majesty's desire to conclude a peace on just and honorable conditions, and demanding the necessary passports for a person of confidence whom his majesty would send to Paris with a commission to discuss with

the government there all the measures the most proper to produce so desirable an end." Had this been the mode of communication originally adopted, it would, no doubt, have proved acceptable: but, in the present temper of the Directory, the reply made—to use the expression of M. Kœnneman, the Danish resident, 'in a very dry tone'—was "that the Executive Government would not receive or answer any overture from the enemies of the republic transmitted through any intermediate channel; but that, if England would send persons furnished with full powers and official papers, they might, upon the frontier, demand the passports necessary for proceeding to Paris." The haughty demeanour of the court of London was, however, by this time, so much lowered, that, in compliance with the requisition of the Directory, passports were applied for in the manner and form specified; which were granted expressly "to the ~~envoy~~ envoy of England, who shall be furnished with *full powers* not only for preparing and negotiating the peace between the French republic and that power, but for concluding it definitively between them." Lord Malmesbury, who had been engaged under the name of Sir James Harris in negotiations of some importance at Madrid, St. Petersburg, and elsewhere, and had acquired some reputation for diplomatic

diplomatic abilities, which, upon this occasion, were highly magnified, was nominated by his Britannic majesty to this important mission : and, on the 22d of October, his lordship announced to M. de la Croix, minister for foreign affairs, his arrival at Paris, as “ plenipotentiary to the FRENCH REPUBLIC.” Notwithstanding the coldness and reserve which marked the first acceptance of the English overtures, the natural and characteristic politeness of the French nation prevailed, and lord Malmesbury met personally with a most courteous reception.

On the 24th of October a memorial was presented by the British ambassador, stating, “ that, in the opinion of his Britannic majesty, the principle of compensation would best serve as a basis for the definitive arrangements of peace. Great Britain (says this boasting memorial), from the uninterrupted success of her naval war, finds herself in a situation to have no restitution to demand of France ; from which on the contrary she has taken establishments and colonies of the highest importance, and of value almost incalculable. But, on the other hand, France has made, on the continent of Europe, conquests to which his majesty can be no less indifferent, as the most important interests of his people, and the most sacred engagements of his crown, are essentially implicated therein. The magnani-

mity of the king, his inviolable good faith, and his desire to restore repose to so many nations, induced him to consider this situation of affairs as affording the means of procuring for all the belligerent powers just and equitable terms of peace, and such as are calculated to ensure for the time to come the general tranquillity. It is on this footing then that he purposes to negotiate; by offering to make compensation to France, by proportionable restitutions, for those arrangements to which she will be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just demands of the king's allies, and to preserve the political balance of Europe."

To this overture, the Executive Directory, through the medium of M. de la Croix, returned a very embarrassing answer. They observed "that if lord Malmesbury would have agreed to treat separately, as he was formally authorized by the tenor of his credentials, the negotiations might have been considerably abridged; that the necessity of balancing with the interests of the two powers those of the allies of Great Britain multiplies the combinations, increases the difficulties, tends to the formation of a congress, the forms of which it is known are always tardy, and requires the accession of powers which hitherto have displayed no desire of accommodation, and have not given to lord Malmesbury

bury himself, according to his own declaration, any power to stipulate for them. Nevertheless, the Executive Directory, animated with an ardent desire of putting a stop to the scourge of war, and to prove that they will not reject any means of reconciliation, declares that, as soon as lord Malmesbury shall exhibit to the minister for foreign affairs sufficient powers from the allies of Great Britain for stipulating for their respective interests, accompanied by a promise on their part to subscribe to whatever shall be concluded in their names, the Executive Directory will hasten to give an answer to the specific propositions which shall be submitted to them, and that the difficulties shall be removed, as far as may be consistent with the safety and dignity of the French republic."

The Directory appears to have perceived, certainly not without reason, that the court of London had no serious intention of acceding to the basis of pacification stated by Mr. Barthelemi to Mr. Wickham; and, in their reply to the memorial of lord Malmesbury, they plainly indicated their suspicions "that the British government had a double object in view,—to prevent by general propositions the partial propositions of other powers, and to obtain from the people of England the means of continuing the war by throwing an odium upon the republic;" and

they declared without reserve “ that they could not but perceive that the proposition of lord Malmesbury is nothing more than a renewal, under more amicable forms, of the former proposal of Mr. Wickham.”

Lord Malmesbury, perplexed and confounded by this answer, wrote to his court for fresh instructions: and on the 12th of November he transmitted a second note or memorial to the Directory, in which, agreeably to the orders received during the interval, his lordship declared, “ that, with regard to the offensive and injurious insinuations contained *in that paper**, the king has deemed it far beneath his dignity to permit an answer to be made to them on his part in any manner whatsoever.—As to the difficulty started by the Directory, his lordship said that there could be no question but of a negotiation which shall combine the interests and pretensions of all the powers who make a common cause with the king in the present war. In the course of such a negotiation, the intervention, or at least the participation of these powers, will doubtless become absolutely necessary;—but it appears that the waiting for a formal and definitive authority on the part of the

* Could the court of London have given full scope to its greatness on this occasion, the phraseology of the note would no doubt have been “ that audacious paper.”

allies of the king, before Great Britain and France begin to discuss even provisionally the principles of the negotiation, would be to create a very useless delay."—On the very same day, M. de la Croix, in a note to lord Malmesbury, declared himself "charged by the Executive Directory to invite him to point out, without the smallest delay, and expressly, the objects of reciprocal compensation which he had to propose." To which lord Malmesbury properly replied, "that, before the formal acceptance of this principle, or the proposal on the part of the Executive Directory of some other principle which might equally serve as the basis of a negotiation for a general peace, he could not be authorized to designate the objects of reciprocal compensation."

After some smart altercation, calculated for no good purpose, lord Malmesbury was informed by M. de la Croix, November 27, "that the proposal contained in his note of the 12th of November involved in it an acknowledgment of the principle of compensation; and that principle being now formally recognized, he was again invited to give a speedy and categorical answer to the proposal." It was not till the 17th of December, after again consulting his court, that lord Malmesbury stated the terms agreeably to which it was conceived that a

treaty might be concluded on the basis of mutual compensation. These terms, when specified, appeared rather extraordinary, as resolving themselves into the single condition that France should restore all her conquests in the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy—and Great Britain her acquisitions gained from that power in the East and West Indies,—in other words, into the *status quo ante bellum*; with the strange proviso annexed, “that if, in addition to this, his majesty were to wave the right given him by the express stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht, of opposing the cession of the Spanish part of St. Domingo to France, his majesty would then demand, in return for this concession, a compensation which might secure, at least in some degree, the maintenance of the balance of the respective possessions in that part of the world.”—It seemed to involve in it a gross absurdity, in a time of open war, to make any mention of the stipulations of a treaty of peace. The article of the treaty of Utrecht referred to undoubtedly authorized Great Britain to interfere, in order to prevent the transfer of any of the Spanish colonies in the West Indies to France, even supposing she had no other cause of complaint or quarrel. But when she was actually at war with those powers, all previous stipulations and arrangements were necessarily and wholly superseded; and

and the consent of Great Britain to a cession which it was not in her power to prevent must be a matter of perfect indifference, if not rather of contempt and ridicule; at best a matter of mere form, for which nothing ought to be asked, because nothing of value was conceded. “Restitutions of any kind in favor of Holland, unless France would on her part re-instate that republic in all respects in the same political situation in which it stood before the war, (lord Malmesbury expressly declares, in a second memorial delivered at the same time) could be admitted in so far only as they shall be compensated by arrangements calculated to contribute to the security of the Austrian Netherlands!”

On the subject of these memorials lord Malmesbury had a long conference with M. de la Croix; of which his lordship transmitted a very curious and minute account to his own court. The following are the most important particulars.—After perusing the memorials, the French minister said “that the plan of pacification proposed appeared to him to be liable to insurmountable objections, as requiring much more than it conceded, and, in the event, not leaving France in a situation of proportional greatness to the other powers of Europe. He said,

said, the act of their constitution made it impossible for the republic to do what we required. The Austrian Netherlands were annexed to it: they could not be disposed of without flinging the nation into all the confusion which must follow a convocation of the primary assemblies; and that he was surprized at the demand, since he had in some of the late conversations fully explained the nature of their constitution.”—Lord Malmesbury, in return, forcibly urged “that there existed a *droit publique* in Europe paramount to any *droit publique* they might think proper to establish within their own dominions; and that an obligation, at least equally binding, and equally public, existed between the king and the emperor, obliging them not to lay down their arms without the restitution of all the territories belonging to either before the war:—that, in case of necessity arising from losses and misfortunes, the *power* of cession must inhere in the executive government; and, if in that case, it equally existed in all others.”

M. de la Croix finding himself perplexed in the attempt to confute these reasonings, changed his ground, and maintained, “that, from the relative situation of the adjacent countries, the present government of France would be reprehensible in the extreme, and deserve impeachment,

ment, if they ever suffered the Netherlands to be separated from their dominions*: that,—by the partition of Poland,—Russia, Austria, and Prussia, had increased their power to a most formidable degree; that England by its conquests, and by the activity and judgment with which it governed its colonies, had redoubled its strength.—Your Indian empire alone (said M. de la Croix with vehemence) has enabled you to subsidize all the powers of Europe against us, and your monopoly of trade has put you in possession of a fund of inexhaustible wealth.” The French minister farther asserted “that Belgium, by belonging to France, would remove what had been the source of all wars for two centuries past; and the Rhine being the natural boundary of France, would ensure the tranquillity of

* In reading the account of this conference, it must never be forgotten that the Englishman and not the Frenchman is the narrator; and that it depends upon the art of the sculptor, whether the lion shall be represented as killing the man, or the man as killing the lion. It appears that M. de la Croix did not pretend to deny that the power of restitution was, in a political sense, inherent in the nation; but merely that it could not constitutionally be exercised by the Directory. In reply to lord Malmesbury’s hypothetical case of necessity, M. de la Croix might *perhaps* think it sufficient to say, that necessity was a valid plea for any thing, but that no such necessity actually existed; and that if, *in present circumstances*, the Directory made the restitution in question, they would deserve impeachment:—and had not the French government a right to its *sine qua non* as well as the English?

Europe

Europe for two centuries to come." He at length intimated, "that an equivalent might be found for the emperor in the secularization of the three ecclesiastical electorates, and several bishoprics in Germany and Italy." He spoke of making new electors; and named the stadtholder and the dukes of Brunswic and Wirtemberg as persons proper to replace the three ecclesiastical electors.—The tenor of his conversation leading to the total subversion of the present Germanic system, lord Malmesbury declared these ideas to be altogether incompatible with the principle laid down by the emperor and king, as the basis of the peace; at the same time hinting, that if, on all the other points, France agreed to the proposals now made, it would not be *impossible* that some increase of territory might be ceded to her on the Germanic side of her frontier; and that this, in addition to the duchy of Savoy, Nice, and Avignon, would be a very great acquisition of strength and power.—'M. de la Croix (says lord Malmesbury) here again reverted to the constitution, and said that these countries were already constitutionally annexed to France. I replied, "that it was impossible in the negotiation which we were beginning for the other powers to take it up from any period but that which immediately preceded the war; and that any acquisition or diminution of territory which

which had taken place among the belligerent powers, since it first broke out, must necessarily become subject-matter for negotiation, and be balanced against each other in the final arrangements of a general peace.”—“ You then persist (said M. de la Croix) in applying this principle to Belgium ?” “ I answered, MOST CERTAINLY: *and I should not deal fairly with you if I hesitated to declare, in the outset of our negotiation, that on this point you must entertain no expectation that his majesty will relax, or ever consent to see the Netherlands remain a part of France.*”—M. de la Croix replied, “ he saw no prospect, in this case, of our ideas ever meeting, and he despaired of the success of our negotiation.”

Passing to the affairs of Spain and Holland, lord Malmesbury mentioned, as still in force, the right vested in Great Britain, by the treaty of Utrecht, of opposing the cession of St. Domingo to France ; which M. de la Croix, regarding doubtless the stipulations of a treaty of peace as altogether superseded in a state of war, passed over with little notice : and when lord Malmesbury proposed that, in return for the *consent* of England to this cession, his Britannic majesty should retain Martinico, or St. Lucia and Tobago, M. de la Croix, astonished without doubt at the extravagance of the overture, and perfectly indifferent whether this consent was
given

given or withheld, dismissed the subject.—In relation to Holland, M. de la Croix treated as impracticable any attempt at restoring the antient form of government. He acknowledged, however, that it was not to be expected Great Britain would consent to a full and complete restitution of the settlements conquered from the Dutch: and when lord Malmesbury suggested the little probability there was that the Cape and Ceylon would be restored, the French minister launched out into a labored dissertation upon their value, affirming that they would ultimately be of infinitely greater importance to England than the Netherlands to France; and that, if this claim was acquiesced in, France would hold her possessions in India entirely at the pleasure of England. Lord Malmesbury, on the other hand, professed to consider them merely as affording an addition of security to England, but no additional power of attack: and his lordship asserted farther, “that if these, *and a few other* of the settlements belonging to the Dutch, were to be insisted upon still, it was impossible not to consider the terms on which his majesty proposed peace to Holland as generous and liberal.”—At the close of the conversation ‘M. de la Croix again asked me (says lord Malmesbury) “whether, in his report, he was to state the disuniting Belgium from France

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as a *sine qua non* from which his majesty would not depart?" I replied, "it MOST CERTAINLY *was a sine qua non from which his majesty would not depart*; and that any proposal which would leave the Netherlands annexed to France would be attended with much greater benefit to that power, and loss to the allies, than the present relative situation of the belligerent powers could entitle the French government to expect." M. de la Croix repeated his concern at the peremptory way in which I made this assertion, and asked whether it would admit of no modification? I replied, "if France could not, in a *contre-projet*, point out a practicable and adequate one, still keeping in view that the Netherlands must not be French, or likely again to fall into the hands of France, such a proposal might certainly be taken into consideration." M. de la Croix by no means encouraged me to explain myself more fully: *he repeatedly said that this difficulty relative to the Netherlands was one WHICH could NOT BE OVERCOME.*

Upon reading with impartial attention the account given by lord Malmesbury of this famous conference, it seems strange to find his lordship conclude with saying, "that the impression which remained on his mind on parting with M. de la Croix, from the civility of his manner, and apparent readiness to discuss the subject,

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was, that the negotiation would go on, though he saw little prospect of its terminating successfully." On the contrary, from the circumstances stated in the narrative itself, it was manifestly impossible that the negotiation could go on.—When the first overture was made by England in the preceding spring, France positively declared that she would not relinquish the conquests which had been actually annexed to the territory of the republic. She had not since shewn the least disposition to recede from this declaration, against which the English ministry exclaimed, as violent, arbitrary, and unjust. When, after an interval of six months, a second proposition for peace was made by England, surely France had reason to expect that the court of London would shew itself at length willing to treat upon that basis which was essential to its attainment;—but she found herself most egregiously deceived. A high and accomplished ambassador, as he was styled, came to Paris professedly invested with full powers to treat with the Directory. But the principle of compensation, on which he wished to set out, being admitted, it appeared that he had nothing to propose. An interval, however, being allowed to receive instructions, the plan of a general pacification was transmitted to him from London, which proved to be nothing more or less

less than a sweeping proposition founded on the *status quo ante bellum*. And it appearing, from the express and repeated declarations of lord Malmesbury, that the restoration of the Austrian Low Countries by the emperor, or at least that the absolute relinquishment of them by France, was a *sine qua non* of the projected treaty, all the other modifications of the plan suggested by lord Malmesbury were of no avail, and the negotiation was instantly at an end. On the next day, December 18, the English ambassador was required by M. de la Croix, in a cold and concise note, to give in his *ultimatum* officially in twenty-four hours, with a pointed and obvious reference to the *sine qua non* of the English cabinet; which lord Malmesbury, in handsome and guarded terms, declined to do—offering, at the same time, to enter with candor into the discussion of the proposals of his court, or of any counter-project which might be delivered to him on the part of the Executive Directory. A counter-project, however, in this case, where an irreconcilable difference was acknowledged to exist, must be altogether superfluous: and M. de la Croix informed the ambassador, as before, “that the Executive Directory would listen to no proposals contrary to their constitution, their laws, and the treaties which bind the Republic:”—and notice was given to

his lordship to depart from Paris in eight-and-forty hours; adding "that, if the British cabinet is desirous of peace, the Executive Directory is ready to carry on the negotiations, according to the above-mentioned basis, by the reciprocal channel of couriers."

On a review of this strange negotiation, there appears, on the part of the English ministry, a very disgraceful want of sagacity, or a still more disgraceful want of sincerity. This alternative it is impossible to evade. The French government had, on the former occasion, committed themselves completely on the subject of the annexation of Belgium to France; and there was surely no ground whatever to imagine that they would, at the close of a very successful campaign, recede from a determination which they had at the commencement of it so publicly and solemnly expressed. When this determination was once formed, the principle on which they founded, or the reasons by which they justified, it, were of no consequence to England;—the sole practical question to be resolved was, whether it were expedient to continue the war for the chance of wresting the Austrian Low Countries from France by force? It would indeed have simplified the business, and have deprived their arch-enemy, Mr. Pitt, of a plausible topic of declamation, had the Executive
Directory

Directory avowed their resolution to retain the provinces in question, in the language already *sanctioned* by the use of the English ministry, “as an indemnity for the past, and a security for the future.” The French government was no less justifiable in making the retention, than the English the restitution, of the Low Countries a *sine qua non* of the negotiation; and Mr. Pitt himself could not have denied, that for such general resolution not to treat, but upon certain conditions of advantage previously specified, the practice of *regular and approved governments* might be adduced. Not to advert to remoter instances, a very few years had elapsed since the court of London, after much idle menace and bluster indeed, yielded to a pretension of this nature advanced by one of her present allies, the empress of Russia; who, in her late war with Turkey, had conquered and insisted upon retaining possession of Oczakow, and the surrounding country from the Bog to the Neister, as a preliminary of peace. With regard to the ambassador, lord Malmesbury, it was manifest, from the whole tenor of his correspondence, and particularly his long and elaborate account of the conference with M. de la Croix (December 18), that his talents had been extremely over-rated. When the negotiation plainly turned upon a single point, he wandered into tedious

discussions wholly irrelevant, ornamenting his discourse with turns of wit not very brilliant, intermixed with arguments *ad hominem* not very conclusive. His address and manners were notwithstanding perfectly decorous and polite; and his diplomatic ability appears not to have been unequal to a negotiation requiring nothing beyond ready and specious conversation upon such subjects as might be supposed to occur in the ordinary routine of politics. Upon the whole, as it could scarcely be imagined that the English ministry entertained the most distant expectation that France would be induced to recede from her claim respecting Belgium, too much countenance was afforded to the suspicions expressed by the Executive Directory, relative to the sincerity of the court of London, and their jealousy “that the step taken by that court had no other object than to obtain for the British government the favorable impression which always accompanies the first overture for peace,” to which they might have added the advantage accruing to the British ministers from keeping up the farce of negotiation and pacification at home.

While this famous negotiation was pending, Mr. Burke, who had now no longer a seat in parliament, published a most furious, sanguinary, and frantic pamphlet, entitled “Thoughts on a
Regicide

Regicide Peace ;” in which he urged, in his characteristic manner, the prosecution of the war as a war *ad internecionem*. Deploring deeply the pusillanimity of Mr. Pitt in making these disgraceful advances to the regicide foe, he loftily exclaims:—“ The minister had, in this conflict, wherewithal to glory in success, to be consoled in adversity. If it were not given him to support the falling edifice, he ought to bury himself under the ruins of the civilised world.” Throughout this extraordinary performance, which every-where bears the marks of great but eccentric genius, the writer, rising to the sublimest heights of terrific eloquence, may be compared to the SPIRIT of LODA, “ coming in the roar of a thousand storms, and scattering battles from his eyes * ;” or to the image in Calphurnia’s dream—blood spouting at every pore. Yet this very man, previous to his being possessed by this dæmoniac phrensy, could say, in the words of truth and soberness, “ I cannot conceive any being under Heaven, which in its infinite wisdom tolerates all sorts of existences, more odious and disgusting, than an impotent helpless creature, without civil wisdom or military skill, bloated with pride and arrogance, calling for battles which he is not to fight.” This

* Poems of OSSIAN—Caric-thura, Vol. I.

was happily the last effort of a pen which had long been taught to inscribe only characters of blood. Falling into a lingering illness, increased no doubt by the morbid irritability of his mind, this grand incendiary of Europe expired, in a few months after this period, at once the object of pity, of abhorrence, and of admiration.

The young king of Sweden, Gustavus IV. having recently attained to the age of majority, the regency of the duke of Sudermania, his uncle, who had governed that kingdom for four years with great wisdom and moderation, was now at an end; and it was soon perceivable that the same caution and sagacity no longer governed the Swedish councils, which seemed, from this time, to be entirely under the influence of the court of St. Petersburg. Baron Stael, the Swedish ambassador at Paris, was replaced by M. Renhausen, a determined enemy of the republic. Representations having been made to the court of Stockholm, without effect, against this nomination, M. Renhausen received a peremptory order from the minister of the police to leave Paris; and the French envoy, in return, received a similar notice to quit the city of Stockholm; and all appearances portended a sudden rupture between the two nations. This event might possibly be retarded by the unexpected death of the empress of Russia,

Russia, who died at this critical juncture (Nov. 6, 1796) by a stroke of apoplexy, without any previous illness; retaining, to the age of sixty-seven years, her health, her vigor, and talents for government, unimpaired and undiminished. Conformably to her artful and insidious policy, she had, from the very commencement of hostilities against France, exerted her influence in fomenting the flames of discord, and in instigating other potentates to the attack, while she herself stood aloof from the contest, at a safe and cautious distance. She did not hesitate very openly to express her contempt of the measures of the English court, and of the political abilities of the minister by whom they were chiefly directed; professing great admiration of the talents of Mr. Fox, whose sagacity and eloquence had so happily, in a late instance, prevented a rupture between Great Britain and Russia; and whose bust, wrought by the famous sculptor Nollkens, in obedience to her order, she caused to be placed between those of Cicero and Demosthenes. This extraordinary woman, who had attained the summit of power by very questionable, if not criminal means, governed the empire of Russia, for the space of thirty-four years, with uninterrupted success and reputation: but the glorious actions of her reign were blended with

with injustice, and stained with cruelty ; and, in the accomplishment of her ends, she never hesitated with respect to means. Her successor in the imperial throne of the Russias was her only son by the late czar Paul Petrowitz ; of whom the empress had entertained so great a dislike and jealousy, that he was, during her life-time, little known in any public or political capacity. But the general idea formed of his character was very far from being favorable to the new emperor, who, by the few acquainted with his disposition and temper, was said to be weak, violent, haughty, and capricious.

Nearly at the same time also died Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, in an advanced age :—an event which produced no sensible effect upon the general politics of the continent. He was succeeded in his precarious throne by his son the prince of Piedmont.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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